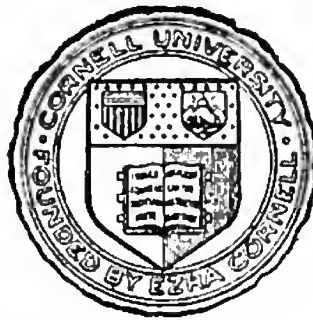


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PORT ROYAL
AND OTHER STUDIES

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

PRACTICAL REFLECTIONS ON EVERY VERSE OF
THE HOLY GOSPELS

ACTS TO REVELATION

GENESIS

THE PSALMS

ISAIAH AND THE MINOR PROPHETS

AN ADAPTATION OF AVANCINI'S "VITA ET
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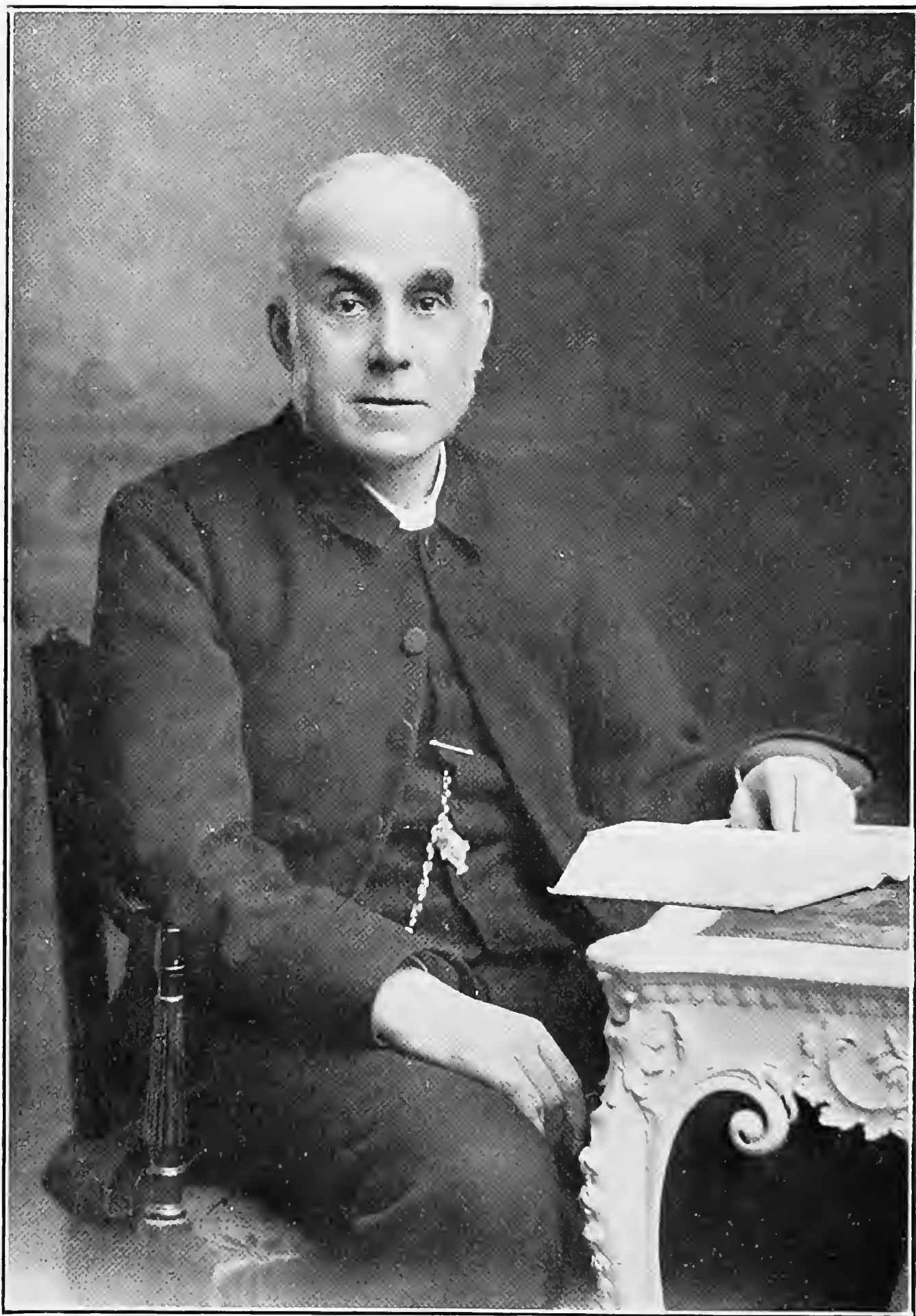


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Henry P Morgan

PORT ROYAL

AND OTHER STUDIES

BY THE

REV. H. T. MORGAN, M.A.

EDITED BY E. C. M.

TOGETHER WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH BY THE

REV. R. J. MACKAY

RECTOR OF ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, EDINBURGH

AND A "POSTSCRIPT" BY THE

REV. E. F. RUSSELL

OF ST. ALBAN'S, HOLBORN

WITH A PORTRAIT

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PREFACE

THE papers reprinted in this book are selected from the writings of the late Rev. H. T. Morgan at the desire of some of his friends. It is thought that, together with the Biography, they will prove of interest to many who knew him.

Thanks are due to the Editor of the *Guardian*, and to the Proprietors of the *Church Quarterly Review* for their kind permission to reprint the Articles which have already appeared in those publications—and to the Editor of the *St. Alban's Holborn Monthly Paper* for those on "The Death of the Mère Angélique"; also to J. Russell & Sons for supplying a copy of the Photograph, and to the writers of the Biographical Sketch and Postscript.

E. C. M.

October 1914.

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HENRY THORNHILL MORGAN

*A Biographical Sketch by the Rev. R. J. Mackay, Rector
of St. Martin's Church, Edinburgh*

HENRY THORNHILL MORGAN was born at Leytonstone, Essex, on 7th November 1840. He was the eldest son of David T. Morgan of Leytonstone and later of Whip's Cross, Walthamstow, a well-known Churchman, a generous and steadfast benefactor to all Church work, and the author of *Hymns and other Poetry of the Latin Church*, a volume of translations of ancient Latin hymns and sacred lyrics. Some of these translations are to be found in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. In the father we thus see the studious habits which were so richly inherited by the son.

Henry Morgan was educated at St. Peter's College, Radley, and an old school-fellow in writing of his school-days, says :

“ I never knew any other boy like him at school ; he passed through all the temptations of school life absolutely uncontaminated by them, and yet never separated himself from his companions or assumed a superior attitude towards them. Other boys acknowledged his goodness, however, and greatly respected him.”

From Radley he went to Trinity College, Oxford, of which body he was admitted a Commoner on 29th January 1859. He read for honours and took a second

class in Classical Honour Moderations in 1861. That he did not take honours in the Final Schools was probably due to the fact that about this time he met with a serious accident on the ice, which laid him aside for a considerable time and left a permanent mark upon him in the slight lameness which his friends always associated with him.

He graduated B.A. in 1864 and M.A. in 1865; in the latter year he also won the Denyer and Johnson Theological Scholarship.

From Oxford he went to the Theological College at Cuddesdon to prepare for Holy Orders, and was ordained deacon in 1866 and priest in 1867, both by the Bishop of Oxford, S. Wilberforce. His first and only curacy was at St. John's, Newbury, where he worked under the Rev. Thomas Hubbard. He was not allowed to remain there long, for in 1867 he was recalled to Cuddesdon, to become the Chaplain of the College, under its famous Principal, the Rev. Edward King, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. From these days onwards he became Dr. King's close friend, a fact which was reflected in the Bishop's will, for in it he appointed Mr. Morgan to be his co-literary executor with Canon Randolph, an office which unfortunately he was not able to fulfil to its close. Of this period one who knew him well writes: "He is associated in my recollection with some of the best men I have known, Bishop King, Bishop Randall, Stephen Gladstone, Edward Russell. But he had a character of his own apart from them all, a character in which independence, modesty, reality, industry, kindness and tenacity of purpose were combined—I always felt the better for any intercourse with him from Cuddesdon days onwards."

And the late Canon C. E. Brooke wrote to Mrs. Morgan :

“ I owe a great deal to your late husband, and valued his friendship and kindness. When at Cuddesdon he helped me a very great deal : his books, too, are full of sound learning and most useful.”

In 1871, Bishop Mackarness offered him the living of St. John's, Newbury, the parish from which he had received his title, and he accepted it. Here he made such an impression, especially upon the young men and lads, that one still hears much of his work, and one still finds railway porters and others who came under his influence speak with enthusiasm of their old Vicar. He had a wonderful way of dealing with lads in all walks of life. In every parish in which he served, a feature of his work was a large Bible-class of rough lads, whom he never failed to gather round him and upon whom he had a fine influence for good. When speaking of this class to his friends he would playfully allude to the lads as “ my bears.” He loved the lads with all his heart and the lads loved him. Their spiritual welfare was his first care, but he did not neglect the culture of the body : religion to him was a matter for the whole life ; he knew that a lad's leisure time was his danger time, and so he instituted reading and recreation rooms and encouraged healthy sport so that the enemy might not find work for idle hands to do. Moreover, he followed the lads into their work and did his utmost to help them to improve their position.

Pupil-teachers had in him a firm and valuable friend. It was at Newbury that he commenced a practice, which he continued ever afterwards, of having special classes for young men teachers. In these classes as

well as with individual teachers he gave freely and gratuitously of his very best, and many a successful master at the present time owes much of his success, especially in Latin and French, to the sound tuition he received from this devoted priest.

His influence with another class of men may be best gathered from the following letter :

“ I have just seen in to-day's *Daily Mail* the notice of the death of the dear Vicar, a very real and true friend of mine since 1871, thirty-nine years ago, when he came as Vicar of St. John's, Newbury. He was ever a generous friend to many, and it will never be known in this world how many men he influenced for good and helped into the priesthood. I well remember in the early 'seventies how I used to read with him in his study, and he it was who first persuaded me to seek ordination. M. R. told me how very many the dear Vicar had helped in so many ways, and now his sweet voice is heard no more. How well I remember his helpful sermons at St. John's, and whenever I read his *Practical Reflections* I seem to hear his voice and think of him, and feel how much I owe to his saintly life and example and his timely help, for I should never have been ordained but for his advice and sympathy.”

On 5th June 1877, at the Parish Church of Henley-on-Thames, Mr. Morgan was married to Emma Charlotte, third daughter of the late Rev. Edward Golding, Vicar of Brimpton, Berks. Mrs. Morgan proved a very real helpmeet to her husband in every way ; in every parish she backed him up nobly in his work and lovingly guarded his health. To hear him speak of his wife was to realise the profound regard he had for her judgment and worth and to understand the happiness of his married life.

At Newbury he published the first volume of *Practical Reflections* on every verse of the Holy Scriptures, volumes of which appeared at intervals from 1881 to 1896 in the following order: *Holy Gospels, Acts to Revelation, Psalms, Genesis, Isaiah, Minor Prophets*. This work was undertaken at the suggestion of his friend Canon Liddon, who wrote prefaces of high commendation to the earlier volumes, an office undertaken by Bishop King for the volumes which were issued after the death of the great preacher. It was characteristic of the author to withhold his own name because, as he explains in the advertisement to the volume on the Gospels, "The compiler has not thought it necessary to put his name to these Reflections as they have little of his own but the collection and arrangement, and are in no sense original." The real reason was that the compiler had far too small an estimate of his own powers. The work, which is not critical but devotional in character, contains far more of the author's own reflections than his modesty would permit him to acknowledge. His strong faith in God's goodness and his moral and spiritual insight are evident on every page of every volume. This labour of love on the practical interpretation of the Holy Scriptures was not allowed to interfere with his ordinary parochial duties, for he secured the early morning hours for this subject, rising early and putting in solid labour when many of his brethren were asleep. Writing to his future wife, just before their marriage, he thus spoke of this work: "My only comfort is my morning hours on the Gospels. Work goes steadily on, now my lectures are over. I look forward to it with eagerness and leave it with reluctance, it is my haven of rest."

After thirteen years at Newbury, Bishop Mackarness offered him the living of Crowthorne, Berks, which he accepted in 1884. This was a unique country parish, having within its bounds Wellington College on the one side and Broadmoor Asylum on the other, and the village in which his work lay was composed of people, drawn from every quarter of the United Kingdom, who were almost entirely dependent on the one institution or the other. Since those days the parish has developed into an important residential locality with a character of its own. The new Vicar soon adapted himself to the situation and rapidly won the confidence of his parishioners in a remarkable degree. They could not but admire his downright goodness, his absolute singleness of purpose, his straightforward manner, though it sometimes savoured of bluntness, and his great kindness of heart.

In Crowthorne the boys and lads quickly realised that they had found a warm-hearted and firm friend in the new Vicar. He was never happier than when surrounded by the lads, over whom he wielded a great influence. A familiar figure in the village streets, which many still love to recall, was the Vicar, strong and kindly in face, slightly bent with the scholar's stoop, walking with a perceptible limp, arm in arm with a lad or boy, sometimes one on either side of him, ready with a cheery word for every parishioner and keenly interested in all their joys and sorrows. Every Sunday it was his custom to invite two choir boys to have tea with him, his wife, and visitors, an honour which the boys heartily appreciated, and from which they learned more than one valuable lesson. Between tea time and Evensong the vicar held his Bible-class for

older lads, but meantime he provided bound volumes of the *Illustrated London News* and *Boys' Own Paper* to entertain the choristers until he was ready to accompany them to church. The vicarage study and in summer the vicarage garden were places where lads knew that they were always sure of a welcome, and there was absolutely no formality to frighten them away, for the Vicar was their friend. In this study he held his Confirmation classes and, before the extension of the church, a service of preparation for Holy Communion for lads, classes which have made an indelible impression upon the minds of very many who attended them.

The work among pupil-teachers still continued, and the Vicar did everything in his power to encourage the village boys to seize all the educational advantages they could obtain, not resting satisfied until he had found good situations for the brightest of them in London, where many of them to-day hold positions of trust. Those who were not fitted for teaching or office work also claimed his attention, and for them he found situations in different parts of the country, so that one meets his old boys everywhere ; while for those who found work at home he instituted a reading room, and out of his own means secured for the village a recreation ground since named after him.

Though one loves to dwell on his work among the lads, it is just to say that it was only a feature of his activities. No parish priest was more faithful in the execution of his duty, and in him the sick and poor found a true friend, an earnest pastor, and a sympathetic teacher.

All through his life Henry Morgan took a deep interest in the work of Foreign Missions, the U.M.C.A. being

especially near to his heart. His practical sympathy was known to many a Missionary College student, for it was his custom, during their vacation, to board one of these young men in his parish or to find room for one in his vicarage. Many of the men sent out by Burgh, Dorchester, and St. Augustine's, Canterbury, received valuable help from him in the payment of their fees and other expenses, but everything was done so quietly and unostentatiously that few knew anything about it. Many pupil-teachers, too, were helped during their college career, but in these cases repayment was usually made when the teacher received an appointment, a wise arrangement which gave the young man a sense of responsibility and independence.

The following letter, which belongs to the Crowthorne period, gives one a fair impression of the influence which Mr. Morgan exercised on many minds :

“It has been impossible for me to write you any mere formal letter of regret and sympathy on the occasion of the death of my great friend. His passing came as a great and sad shock to us, and indeed to all here who knew him and remembered his loving work as pastor here among us.

“Both my wife and I feel Mr. Morgan's death most acutely, not so much, perhaps, because of his many, many kindnesses to us both, as for the bright memories of that beautiful labour of love, unceasing, abounding, and fruitful, which we knew so well.

“After leaving A. with its two fine vicars, one had great doubts as to whether their places could ever be filled. But Mr. Morgan was something to me that neither of these had been. Coming here nearly twenty-five years ago as a young man with all the faults of

energetic but irrational youth, the great intellectual gifts of the Vicar, his keen sympathy, noble self-sacrifice, and helpful advice impressed and inspirited me far beyond what I can hope to express to you. I am grateful, very grateful that my lot fell on such fair ground.

“And what he did for our lads here! He spared neither time, labour, nor money in their behalf, and always worked with a lion’s heart in spite of some failures. That which Bishop King did in another sphere was equally well done by his loving friend as parish priest.

“It is a matter for sincere gratitude that our Church does attract to its service such noble lives, whose simple faith and duty inspire the minds of all thoughtful persons.”

On the material side the Vicar by his energy and influence made many improvements on Crowthorne church and school. Under his wise direction, and helped largely by his generosity, the school was much enlarged and the playground extended to meet the needs of the growing parish. The parish church in 1884 consisted of a nave with aisles and a temporary vestry curtained off in one corner; this soon proved too small, so the Vicar set manfully to work to raise funds to complete the building and had the satisfaction of adding to it a handsome and very spacious chancel, a side chapel, vestry, and organ chamber in which was placed a fine organ. A corner of ground was also added to the churchyard and a fund started for filling the great east window with stained glass. This fund was growing when Mr. Morgan resigned the living in 1894, so it was completed and the east window filled in, in grateful recognition

of a fruitful ten years' ministry of self-sacrifice and devotion which had stamped itself deeply on the hearts of very many of the parishioners. A brass plate on the wall of the chancel, set up soon after his departure, tells that the window was dedicated to the Glory of God and as a memorial of a consecrated ministry.

In 1894, Mr. Gladstone, for whom Mr. Morgan had a profound regard, offered him the Crown living of Eckington with Renishaw in the diocese of Southwell, which he accepted.

Eckington was a great change from Crowthorne. It is a long straggling mining township with a large population. It has a fine old parish church, two outlying churches, one or two mission rooms, and several large Nonconformist chapels. Here, though some of his friends thought the task was beyond his physical strength, he set to work with the same energy, the same enthusiasm, the same whole-hearted devotion, the same wide interest. He soon won the respect and confidence of the miner lads because they were not slow to recognise that he was a true friend who wished to enter into their lives, while his absolute sincerity and noble devotion to duty even in the face of much suffering made a lasting impression upon all with whom he came in real contact.

Building work soon claimed his attention in order to meet the needs of a very long parish with the Mother Church at one of its extremities. With this end in view he was instrumental in building an iron church-room at Upper Eckington and another at Holbrook. The Church schools, ever very near to his heart and never very far from his presence, were much improved under his rule. A large class-room was added to Camm's

Mixed School and increased accommodation was provided for the infants, but the work which was dearest to him was the erection of a permanent church in place of an iron structure at Renishaw. Helped very largely by his own munificence, but backed up by local support, he had the satisfaction of seeing the nave of St. Matthew's Church built, and in his will a sum of money was left for its completion and for keeping the fabric in repair.

At the rectory, which was a large house, he was able to set apart a spacious room for his beloved lads, so that they might have a home for their Bible-class, for Confirmation classes, and on week-days for games. It was a real inspiration to see him in the midst of the rough but genial colliers. He entered heartily into their games, proving an able tutor to those who cared for chess, but he also entered with heart and soul into the difficulties and troubles of their daily lives, showing by his questions how close was his interest in their welfare.

Here are some extracts from the letters of men who came under his influence at this time :

“In joy and sorrow, his sympathy and friendship have been unfailing, and his encouragement in the work and duties of life a constant inspiration.”

From an insurance superintendent :

“His ministry at Eckington will last throughout a couple of generations, and his sermons and life there influenced me more than anything else in my life. He was the embodiment of practical Christian teaching, and often when I look at his face in the portrait hanging in my room, I think of the resplendent character it shows. It is many years now since I left Eckington, but communications I receive from there point to the

wonderful influence he had over its people. A man great in his humility has been lost to us, but I for one ask you to accept this note as an expression of gratitude to one who exemplified Christian teaching and so greatly influenced me."

Throughout his ministry, though an uncompromising Churchman, his relations with Nonconformists were always of the most friendly character. No man was more scrupulous in respecting the religious opinions of others, and the writer well remembers the severe rebuke administered to some choir boys who in the exuberance of boyish spirits thought it their duty one evening to play around a Wesleyan chapel while a meeting was going on. From time to time, however, many Nonconformists were drawn to the Church, attracted by the personality of one in whom they saw the Mother Church at her best.

After eight strenuous years in this busy but straggling colliery parish, his great friend Bishop King offered him the living of St. Peter-in-Eastgate with St. Margaret, Lincoln. Here the last years of his life were spent near his dear friend the saintly Bishop and another old friend, Dean Wickham, who as Head-master of Wellington College was his parishioner at Crowthorne, and under the shadow of the stately Cathedral which he knew and loved so well. In Lincoln he did not find the same scope for his work among lads, but he still managed to gather a goodly number around him and he made the most of the opportunities which came his way, of helping and influencing pupil-teachers. Letters received after his death bore eloquent testimony to the influence of his strong pure character, consistent example, and beautiful life upon men and women, in all

ranks of society, with whom he came in contact. The testimony of a neighbouring vicar in Lincoln may be taken as a sample :

“ His wonderful kindness will never be forgotten. I cannot tell you what a continuous happiness it was to me as having charge of a parish to know that always and most certainly I should find in the adjoining parish one who would never misunderstand motives and would always be most patient, gentle, and courteous.”

For many years Henry Morgan was a martyr to rheumatism, but it was characteristic of the man that he said little about it and went cheerfully and bravely on with his work when other men would have given in. However, early in 1910 his health began seriously to fail, and the death of Bishop King in March greatly affected him. Speaking of the Bishop's death to a brother priest, he said, “ He is to be envied, he is to be envied.” Soon after this, while engaged in work, he contracted a chill which turned to influenza. Short visits to his nephew at Grimsby and to Bridlington were tried for a change of air but little benefit followed, so a more thorough change was recommended, and on 9th May he and his wife left for Penzance. Here he seemed to get a little better, and in June removed to Bath, returning to Lincoln on 1st July. On Sunday, 3rd July, he preached at Matins in St. Peter-in-Eastgate Church but was not strong enough to do more, and at midnight an attack of heart failure came on from which he rallied after some hours. For the next day or two his condition was critical ; on Thursday a second heart attack prostrated him, and at 11.30 P.M. on Friday, 8th July, his strong, pure, brave soul passed to Eternal Rest.

His funeral was in keeping with his life, simple and impressive, with the Christian note of hope dominant. In the early morning his body was taken to the Church of St. Peter-in-Eastgate, where a large congregation were present for the celebration of Holy Communion. After this various friends, including the priests of neighbouring parishes, the sisters of the Community of St. Mary the Virgin, Wantage, and some members of the family kept watch in turn until 3 P.M., when the burial service began and the church was again filled with a large congregation. The place of interment was Eastgate Cemetery. In this hallowed spot, under the shadow of his own St. Margaret's vicarage, and at a place from which the great tower of the Cathedral is visible through the trees, his mortal remains were laid to rest, his nephew, the Rev. J. H. Morgan, reading the committal prayers, and the Rev. E. F. Russell, an old and dear friend who had been with him at the last, casting into the grave the symbolical earth. Among the great number who stood around that open grave were many old parishioners from distant places, who had come to pay their last tribute of respect to one whose life had meant much to them and whom they had learned to love.

Before attempting any estimate of Mr. Morgan's character, it would be well to supplement what is said above about his interest in Church day-schools by the following contribution from one who writes with close knowledge on this subject :

“ Among the many activities and absorptions in the round of duties in Mr. Morgan's parochial life, the care of the children—especially the children of the poor—ever remained one of his first charges. With a solici-

tude which was perfectly wonderful, and with a devotion so charming in its sincerity, simplicity, and strength that all who saw it were touched, he worked ceaselessly for his 'lads.'

"He commenced with the Scripture lesson in the day-school. With unfailing regularity he taught the upper class of boys, always once a week, generally more frequently. After prayers the religious teaching was begun with real earnest intent. The Bible story was taught with directness and with its application to life. Every verse told its story and had its lesson even for the young. The principles which obtain in Mr. Morgan's writings were used in his oral instruction, and they found 'the hidden depths of many a heart.' To-day, 'twenty and thirty and forty years on,' fathers of families may still be heard speaking reverently and with deep thankfulness of those Bible lessons, given with that deep but simple faith which touched their hearers much more seriously than the giver of them perhaps thought possible.

"Mr. Morgan had great faith in healthy literature, as offering the right stimulus to adolescence. Having placed in a youth's grasp the inestimable privilege of the power to read, then, of necessity, the right matter should be gradually passed before him. A school library was the necessary and natural adjunct to the school, and no pains were spared to make the collection of books suitable and adequate. Mr. Morgan himself collected and distributed the books, fortnightly, to the scholars, so that he might superintend their home reading. The winter Evening Club founded by him was also provided with good reading, and in the summer outdoor games were steadily encouraged. A

Penny Savings Bank was also started in connection with the school to encourage thrift.

“And so the circle—one of large and loving comprehension—was completely drawn about the youth of the parish. From early boyhood right on into life the boys felt that their best comforter in trouble, their greatest help in distress, their wisest counsellor in success, was their own dear parish priest.

“The story is true, whether the scene be Newbury, Crowthorne, Eckington, or Lincoln.

“During the exceedingly troubled times through which Church schools have passed in recent years, Mr. Morgan had ‘the vision clear and splendid.’ He held strong and firm views on the necessity of maintaining them, not only as important branches of the Church’s work, but also as essential parts in any scheme of National Education. With dauntless heart—a characteristic—he was ever willing and eager to raise large sums for improving the school fabric, while fainter spirits demurred, hesitated, halted, and were lost. He contended that Church schools should maintain the highest standard, a standard whose fount and spring should be Religious Teaching—the only source of a true education. The success which attended his own labours affords an eminent confirmation of the correctness of his view.

“His memory is dearly cherished by the teachers engaged in the various schools which came under his control. The ready and unflinching support given to them in their efforts to train the young aright; the frequent conferences on points affecting the welfare of the various scholars; the delight at their success, the regret and sympathy with failure, the charming smile when visitors were shown ‘my boys’—all these leave

an ineffaceable picture of singular beauty and completeness.

“To the writer of this article, who was associated with Church work in one of the parishes under his care, it was always a matter of wonderment to find that amongst all the work in a large, growing, and somewhat difficult parish, Mr. Morgan could devote so much time to the young: and yet no other branch of work suffered. It may perhaps be permitted to me, who knew so well his loving labour for the boys, to think that the brightest jewel of his crown of glory must be the commendation at his Lord’s hands of ‘Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me.’”

Up to the very end of his life Henry Morgan was a student and a scholar, with the scholar’s intense love of truth. He was not content with second-hand knowledge or with other men’s opinions, but went to the source itself. His favourite studies were the Holy Scriptures, history, poetry, and architecture, and on these subjects his reading was wide, varied, and accurate. Early in life he made a habit of keeping note-books in which he analysed the works he read and noted impressions gathered in his reading. Considerably over a hundred of these well-digested volumes exist, though it was his almost invariable custom to tear up the manuscripts of his sermons directly they were preached.

He loved books, and was never happier than when in the presence of rare volumes and of one who appreciated them. The writer well remembers being present at a meeting between Henry Morgan and the late Bishop Dowden of Edinburgh, a true scholar for whom he had a profound respect. Both men found

much to interest them in the conversation of the other, while the production of some of the Bishop's rare books from his fine library showed how intimate both men were in subjects which lie off the beaten track of ordinary knowledge. Afterwards they both privately expressed to the writer their deep appreciation one for the other, and when Bishop Dowden died Mr. Morgan was one of the first to express solicitude for the future of the Bishop's library, and one of the first to subscribe towards the fund which was to purchase it to form part of the Diocesan Memorial.

He was a fine French scholar, and the one department of knowledge which he made peculiarly his own was the History of Port Royal. From time to time he contributed articles to the *Guardian* and *Church Quarterly* on Port Royal, most of which appear in the present volume, and he probably knew more of the history and literature connected with that subject than any man in England. For years he collected books dealing with Port Royal and the cause with which it was identified, and the collection which he made and finally presented to Keble College Library, Oxford, is probably the most complete which exists on the subject in the country.

In architecture he was thoroughly at home ; he knew intimately and loved many of the English Cathedrals, and in going over them no man was more interesting as a guide. Poetry was to him a perpetual joy ; in his capacious memory he stored up whole poems with which to delight his friends on a railway journey, the poem generally having some connection with the district through which they were passing.

In addition to his *Practical Reflections* and the articles in this book, he published an edition of Avancini's

Vita et Doctrina Jesu Christi adapted for Anglican use, and he contributed several interesting articles to the *Guardian* on such subjects as "Bible-class Lessons on Genesis in the Light of the New Criticism," "The Apologetic of Alexandre Vinet," and the struggles of the French Church during the Revolutionary Period.

His gifts were not of what one might term the popular order. His external manner often seemed cold and impassive, but underneath there was as warm a heart as ever beat in man. He had a great capacity for making friends and a greater for keeping them. Once a friend, so far as he was concerned, meant always a friend, and these friends were found in every walk of life—pupils who had taken Holy Orders, schoolmasters, pitmen, railway servants, soldiers, sailors, clerks, shop assistants, men-servants, and others who had come under his influence in his different parishes. He managed to find time to write to them all, if not while engaged in his parochial work, then he made time while enjoying his short holidays. He would remember them with little presents, and if ever anywhere near the town where they resided he would seek them out. No trouble was too great if undertaken on behalf of a friend, and he loved to hear from them and to give them, if necessary, the benefit of his wise counsel. Rowing was the one pastime he was able to enter into, though he encouraged all healthy outdoor games, and he was always pleased when he could get one or two of his lad friends to take an oar with him on the river.

As a Churchman, he was a strong Catholic in the true sense of the word, but he hated the party spirit and had no love for fussy ritual. He loved truth and honesty above all things. This is clearly seen in the following

letter which he wrote to one of his old boys then at the University studying for Holy Orders :

“ Dearest lad, I want you in your theological studies to be honest, thorough, and as widely varied as you can—never say a thing unless you *believe* it—try and have good grounds for your belief (not merely that ‘ Mr. So-and-so has said it ’)—try and get at the real truth about Scripture and its meaning—do not attach yourself too much to *one* particular school or tendency, but learn from the truth itself *whatever* it may teach you. Many clergy are profound (or shallow) humbugs—they repeat dogmas like the parrot—let it be your object to *learn thoroughly*, speak *honestly* : when you don’t know, say so. Life is very short—let us, in what time we have, be *sincere* : let us be always *learning* as well as teaching. Pardon all this ‘ homiletic.’ ”

What he recommended to others he himself tried to put into practice, and he succeeded so well that those who knew him best would say from the heart that the qualities which he insists on in the above letter were the very qualities which most characterised his own life and explained his influence.

Independent in judgment, he was generous in judging others, refusing steadfastly to listen to gossip or to join in irresponsible criticism of those in authority. He tried to see the best in his fellow-creatures, and whenever he did criticise, it was criticism based on real knowledge of the facts.

With his purse he was ever liberal : his timely monetary help to many young students has already been mentioned ; he gave generously in all his parishes towards building work in connection with churches and schools, and he spent a large sum of money on the carvings of the

upper corridor, pillars, and staircase in the University Museum of his beloved Oxford; completing the south corridor and some other pillars, and left a legacy which has defrayed the cost of the carving of the north corridor. He always used his means as a faithful and wise steward who had a deep sense of the responsibility which money brings.

He had far too humble an estimate of his own powers and hated to talk about himself or his own doings. While at Eckington he refused the offer of a Prebend's stall at Southwell which Bishop Ridding made to him, and twice he refused to let Bishop King make him a Prebendary of Lincoln. Just before the end of his life, while the See of Lincoln was vacant, he declined a similar honour offered to him by the Prime Minister, but this time on the ground of ill-health. Had he had a less lowly estimate of his own powers he would certainly have taken a larger share in the councils of the Church, but he sought not publicity nor yet power. He was content with the high calling of a faithful parish priest, and because he was he has left behind him the sweet savour of a beautiful and unselfish life, willingly and wholeheartedly spent in devotion to God and duty. Many men and women to-day thank God for his consistent example, while those who enjoyed his friendship and got into touch with the inner man know that their faith is stronger and their life richer because they have walked and talked with one who consistently followed in the footsteps of his Master and counted all things to be a loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus his Lord.

R. J. M.

PORT ROYAL

AND OTHER STUDIES

THE SPIRIT OF PORT ROYAL¹

Extract from the "Church Quarterly Review,"
October 1907

PORT ROYAL, like Mary Queen of Scots, is a subject never out of date :

"Ev'n in their ashes live their wonted fires."

Michelet may deride it as "une question fort secondaire d'une petite secte catholique," but the verdict of humanity has been otherwise ; Vinet sets forth "le penchant très vif que j'ai pour l'école ou pour la vérité janséniste," and innumerable readers have felt the same ; each in his turn pursues the subject "ingenti percussus amore." What if disciples of Voltaire or of the Jesuits laugh ; yet these two categories do not exhaust the world.

Mrs. Romanes, to whom many aspects of truth are dear, has devoted a large volume to this one. She has read the literature of the subject widely and sympathetically ; she enters minutely into the details of

¹ *The Story of Port Royal*, by Ethel Romanes. London: John Murray.

convent life and the emotions of the holy sisterhood (who excelled in self-analysis); she does justice to the great ladies who patronised the Monastery, making devotion a phase of their æsthetic life; the saints and doctors of the party, Saint-Cyran, Singlin, Arnauld, De Saci, De Tillemont, pass across her pages; she deals excellently with Pascal's *Pensées*, finding their special force to be "in teaching us the intense earnestness, the awful seriousness of human life," and also "the exceeding folly of measuring things eternal by human measures." Two criticisms suggest themselves as we read, though possibly some may consider the first to be a merit. For those who desire to be taken back into the atmosphere of Port Royal, Mrs. Romanes somewhat spoils the impression by always having one eye upon the twentieth century. Quotations from Dr. Moberly, Dr. Gore, Dr. Bigg, Canon Mason, "our best Anglican writers," multiply under her pen. And, secondly, like Sainte-Beuve or Mr. Beard, she breaks off utterly at the destruction of the Monastery, seeing in that catastrophe at once "the destruction of the material buildings and the crushing out a great spiritual movement." In this we are quite at issue with her, as we hope to show. The spiritual movement could not be crushed out so easily.

But we are grateful to Mrs. Romanes for her ready sympathy—no soul is too homely, no detail too trivial for her notice. By this she herself becomes an "amie de la vérité"; in her book there breathes throughout what has been called "fragrance from the vanished walls of Port Royal."

Certainly Port Royal was a material reality—a Cistercian abbey of the thirteenth century, founded by a

Crusader in a wooded valley near Versailles. Round the Gothic church, narrow, lofty, cruciform, with a stone vault, other buildings were grouped as the Monastery grew. It became very worldly in the evil days of the "Wars of Religion," but was reformed in 1609, under the headship of Marie-Angélique Arnauld, who when quite a child had been appointed abbess through her grandfather's influence with Henri IV. Little by little monastic poverty was resumed and a spirit of inward peace grew up. As the fame of the community spread sisters were sent thence to reform other houses, and in 1619 they won the approval of St. Francis de Sales, who paid them a visit. The Mère Angélique sought and obtained two boons of king and pope—one, that she might resign the headship and the abbess be elected every three years; a second, that the house might be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of Cîteaux, for a confessor had to be chosen from the Order, and a good one could not be got. Her experience generally was that monkish confessors behaved as valets or as tyrants, urged the Monastery into lawsuits, or gave rise to worse scandals; so that the abbess was glad to come under the authority of the Archbishop of Paris. After a time began to be felt the powerful spiritual influence of M. de Saint-Cyran, the lifelong friend and associate of Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres. Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, titular Abbé de Saint-Cyran, and Cornelius Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, had agreed to work together to recall the almost forgotten doctrines of grace and to counteract Ultramontane and Jesuit theology. Their topics were the glory of unfallen humanity, the utter corruption wrought by the Fall, the need of conversion, the virtue of Christ's redeeming blood, the efficacy of

grace, the power of suffering to cleanse, and all these as set forth by Augustine. In the same week, in May 1638, Saint-Cyran's activity was cut short by a dungeon (Richelieu suspected his innovating spirit, and threw him untried into Vincennes) and that of Jansenius by sudden death. But Saint-Cyran still, under many difficulties, exercised an apostolate by letter. He was released by the Cardinal's death, after five years, for a few brief months before his end; while Jansenius left behind material for a thick volume entitled *Augustinus*, which appeared in 1640, clothed with due privileges and approbations.¹ The seed they sowed and the enemies they made both lived on after them.

In the Monastery of Port Royal, in the Community of the Oratory, among some great ladies and nobles, more widely among theologians, men of business, lawyers, physicians, heads of families, humbler folk, the new doctrine (old, indeed, as well as new) took fast hold, emerging as what Dean Church calls "the greatest birth of the French Church."

In 1626 the whole community was transferred to Paris, and a house built in the Faubourg Saint-Jacques, which was called Port Royal de Paris. It still stands as a maternity hospital in the Rue de la Bourbe, and part of the church, built in 1646, remains in use—a fine classical building with a dome. When outsiders came to the ceremony of laying the first stone of the church, they were scandalised to find texts of Scripture painted on the cloister walls, "comme au temple de Charenton." In this church M. Singlin preached his celebrated sermon

¹ Jansenius was "one of the most close and faithful of all the exponents of the system of St. Augustine."—*Christian Remembrancer*, January 1856.

on St. Augustine's Day, for which he was suspended by the Archbishop for two months, though his audience, including five bishops, a marshal, and a duke, had been much edified ; here M. de Saci said his first Mass ; here Henri Arnauld was consecrated Bishop of Angers ; here took place the miraculous cure wrought by the Holy Thorn, which retrieved Port Royal's failing fortunes for awhile ; here M. Singlin used to preach in Lent the sermons at which there was always someone converted (one day it was Pascal) ; here Mère Angélique carried a relic in procession with dying hands ; here, too, she was seen by two sisters who were watching at night to rise from her tomb, pass up the choir, sit down in the abbess's stall, and summon before her the intrusive abbess—but all passed in dumb show.

Port Royal des Champs, the original house, had been left deserted for twenty years ; but the Mother refused to sell the stalls of the choir or to pull down the buildings, and the church was kept up and used for service. After 1640, "solitaries" begin to appear—persons who retired to the neighbourhood, under serious impressions, to lead a devout life. Boys, too, were taken by them as pupils, out of whom later on grew up the "Écoles de Port Royal." In 1648 Mère Angélique returned with a few sisters, the community remaining divided between the two houses. She repaired and enlarged and raised the floor of the church eight feet, for in the course of ages the soil around had risen so much that the floor was always damp. On the day of the Mère's return, the bells were rung, the "solitaries" sang *Te Deum*, and a number of the neighbouring poor assembled in the court, among them old women who had known her when she lived there twenty years before. At first she

gave the poor whatever they asked, but soon found it wiser to get M. Pallu, the doctor, to inform her of cases. For the workmen employed on the repairs she provided dinner daily, with a spiritual reading.

During the few prosperous years lodgings were built round the monastery for friends of high and low degree. In the wars of the Fronde a wall was built round for defence, and many fugitives came in for shelter. The church was filled with the household goods of poor neighbours, the court crammed with their cattle and poultry. The Mother made excellent soup for these poor people, and let them in at all hours, sent out also soup and medicine to soldiers who were encamped near. In 1664-9 the house was turned into a prison, the sisters who stood out being sent back thither from Paris, and forbidden the Sacraments until they should sign the condemnation of Jansenius as a heretic, which they refused to do. During this time of deprivation of all spiritual aids, M. Hamon, the doctor, was the only friend allowed to enter, and he only under much surveillance. Now and then, if the guards were not watchful, the confessor mounted at night on a tree near the garden wall, and gave spiritual instructions from that position to the sisters listening by stealth in the garden within. In 1669 the sisters who had submitted were made an independent community as "Port Royal de Paris," with an abbess of royal nomination; they fall under other influences and pass out of touch with the true Port Royal.

The "Peace of the Church" followed, and a few years of truce; but in 1679 the king (Louis XIV) forbade any more novices to be received, and dispersed confessors, solitaires, and all connected with the place. The

scholars had been sent away before. For thirty years the community gradually decreased—a slow decay, with occasional hopes of respite. The Procession of the Holy Sacrament still yearly drew old friends to share in the festival; or they came to attend funerals, such as those of M. de Saci or of M. de Tillemont, who wished to be buried beside his schoolboy friend, laid there long years before. At M. de Saci's funeral the ecclesiastics found no words to speak, and the sisters alone sustained the chant—at the Mère Agnes's funeral it was the sisters who failed in utterance. There, too, Racine was laid. The last abbess died in 1706; no further election was allowed, but the community continued under a prioress whom the dying abbess had nominated. But the enemy could not await the slow process of extinction, and in 1709 the remaining sisters (twenty-two very aged women) were removed by force and imprisoned in various distant convents, where all but two shortly submitted, and all soon passed away. During the next three years (1709–12) all the buildings were pulled down and the bones of the dead exhumed with scant reverence.

From that time to the present there has never ceased a “culte des ruines,” with devout pilgrimages to the various sites hallowed by great memories. “Thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof” (Ps. cii. 14).

But “let the dead bury their dead.” The true Port Royal is elsewhere, out of the reach of decay or violence, for living stones compose it,

“Tunsionibus, pressuris expoliti lapides.”

It represents the love of justice and of truth; it was (says M. Faugère) “the breath of an inward reforma-

tion which, compressed at first within the walls of a monastery, soon made its way abroad"; it was "a return to the Christianity of primitive days by the help of prayer and of sacred books." "But" (as he allows) "this aspiration towards the ideal involves always some conflict with the actual."

II

We have dealt hitherto in brief outline with the external history of the community. But Port Royal was no mere reformation of convent life. It was the uprising of a fervent moral and spiritual force, accommodating itself to the forms of the Church, but opening to the soul a view of God's holiness and her own defects; absorbed in contemplation of God's sovereign power, strong in reliance on His all-sustaining grace, it produced in those who received it conversion of heart and amendment of life. Its distinguishing features were tender conscience, austere devotion, profound deference for Holy Scripture and for St. Augustine, preference for lowly tasks, value set on humble souls, reverent regard for the dignity of the priesthood and Sacraments. Those who felt the power of these ideals were forced by adverse circumstances into a position of continual controversy, which in the end injured their usefulness and entangled them in mischievous illusions; but that atmosphere of arid disputation was quite foreign to the better days of the movement.

What do Port Royal writers say about the spiritual life? First of all must come serious conversion to God; "put in order the inward house of the soul by

sincere repentance ; till this is done, nothing is done.”

The Christian life is made up of humility, of patience, of entire trust in God ; or, more briefly, it consists in bearing with troubles caused by others and with sufferings that God sends. “ When once converted, never look back ; never turn to the thought of past sins that have once been repented of and forsaken ; never give up trusting in God.” This note of hearty confidence in God is a special mark of Port Royal teaching. Again : “ Lead (so far as possible) a stable and uniform life ; never be unemployed ; never change your place or work unless God shows you clearly that it is His will you should do so. Keep to the way marked for the faithful generally, not going off into special or exceptional paths of devotion. Never give up a friend whom God has given you nor a good work that has once been seriously taken in hand. The mind of man is naturally unsettled, and needs to be sustained by a fixed plan of life, that we may know always what is to be done next, and not be carried away by our natural unsteadiness.” “ Wisely has God ordained that the life even of righteous men should be so full of trials, liable to so many mistakes, surrounded by so many snares, tossed with so many dangers, besieged by so many cares, for which no human foresight can provide, from which no human skill or strength can deliver.” “ We must realize the poverty of our soul, yet never forget that God is our Father and our Friend ; we must work out our salvation courageously, trusting in His unfailing help. God chooses for the heirs of salvation certain persons as instruments whereby He himself teaches and guides them. Not only does God appoint the successes and blessings that befall, but also the disasters and the

sufferings.” “Let my soul be in peace, and I will fear nothing that man may do. My joy should be most of all in the witness of my own conscience and in the knowledge of sacred truth—of these two precious things no man can rob me.” “Crosses, if we accept them with obedience, are the seed-plot of all sort of graces; not trouble, but prosperity, riches and honours are to be dreaded; sickness is the ordinary means whereby God purifies from sin and prepares the soul for death.” “If my prayers seem to be a burden, it is because I do not pray as I ought; instead of going through formal schemes of meditation, may I not do better by contenting myself with listening to God in some book of piety, and praying after I have read any edifying words, considering them before God without any effort of mind?” “When our souls die, it is then we really die; a cold heart is the worst of all evils—it spoils all our service towards God.”

The very life of Port Royal is to be found in what its grave teachers say about Holy Scripture. M. de Saci's great resource for spiritual guidance, the study which he recommended to others, the task to which he devoted his whole life, was the Bible. The preface to the translated New Testament was in his pocket when he was arrested and thrown into the Bastille. That preface is, indeed, as Nicole says, “un morceau excellent.” It speaks of the New Testament as the principal instrument which God employs to write the law of love on Christian hearts, proves the need of a new French translation, and details the steps taken by the present translators. The new version was the work of many hands, Pascal's amongst others; frequent conferences were held and corrections made. One of the co-

operators looked up New Testament passages in Greek Fathers, another looked in Latin Fathers, a third examined Oriental versions, a fourth, modern interpreters ; others attended to the literary style.

“The spirit in which to read the New Testament is entire simplicity of heart ; he who seeks his salvation there will find it.” “The Holy Word of God and the sacramental Body of Christ are to be treated with like faith and reverence, and used according to their several properties. The second is the soul’s bread, to be partaken of at due times and with fit dispositions. The first is the soul’s life-giving air, which is needed at every moment of life.”

M. de Saci describes the translator’s difficulties ; discusses how far it is possible to render word for word. He indicated some alternative readings in the margin, used marks to show where the Greek text and the Vulgate differed, broke up the text with paragraphs and headings. He entreats the reader to excuse faults and to take this translation as an essay towards somewhat better. He employed his two years in the Bastille in finishing the translation of the whole Bible, which was just ready when he was released. Then he devoted the rest of his life to producing the *Bible avec explication* in thirty-three volumes. Each chapter is printed in Latin and French, with a commentary on it drawn from the Fathers, not in the method of a catena, but excellently digesting and combining the substance of what they say. From the publication of the *Book of Proverbs* on this plan (1671) the work went steadily on ; it was completed by fellow-workers some years after M. de Saci had himself passed away, in 1684.

Another Port Royal work on the Scriptures is

Arnauld's *Défense des Versions* (1688)—an answer to those who prohibit Christians from reading Scripture or prayers in their own tongue. He establishes by copious quotations from the Fathers the right of the laity to understand what is read or sung in church ; he recalls the ancient versions made of the Bible into various languages, and those made in modern times under the auspices of theologians of Louvain ; he ridicules the reason for which the Faculty of Paris in the sixteenth century forbade vernacular versions :

“ Such as these were their reasons ; they knew so little of antiquity—with them it was suspect to know Greek and almost heretical to know Hebrew. They knew so little of French ; ‘ it is a barbarous tongue (they declared) that cannot be subjected to any rule of grammar ’ ; the four doctors whom Cardinal Richelieu selected knew everything except French, and vainly tried ‘ *traduire les Pseaumes*. ’ Again, they said it was the heretics who insisted upon a translated Bible.”

“ But,” says Arnauld, “ has not the king lately expended great sums on providing New Testaments, Psalters, and prayers in French for his ‘ *nouveaux convertis* ’ ? ” He cites St. Teresa (Port Royal is very fond of St. Teresa) as owing her conversion to the perusal of St. Jerome's *Letters* and St. Augustine's *Confessions* put into Spanish. The decree of the Assembly of 1661 forbidding vernacular versions was obtained surreptitiously and has never been obeyed. The Fathers invite everyone to read the Bible. They suppose a knowledge of the Bible in their hearers.

Pasquier Quesnel's famous book, *Réflexions morales sur le Nouveau Testament*, is another memorial of

devotion to Holy Scripture. In its original form it circulated in the Oratory in Latin, and consisted of the Lord's own sayings as recorded in the four Gospels, with a brief title prefixed to each saying. Then it appeared in French, with the words of Christ's mother added. Then the whole of the four Gospels appeared in 1671, with the title of *Abrégé de la Morale Evangélique*, the headings being changed and short reflections inserted after each verse. Next appeared the Acts, Epistles, and Revelations treated in like manner. The whole book, when completed, grew still further; it appeared in edition after edition, it was recommended by prelate after prelate. The King's Confessor, Père la Chaise, though a Jesuit, had it always on his table, for he said that he liked what was good wherever he found it. Bishop Colbert of Montpellier asked in 1716, when defending the book, "was it allowable to withdraw it from the hands of the faithful after it had been read for forty years in the whole Church with so great edification, and had been recommended by so many illustrious bishops?" Bishop Soanen of Senez said in 1726:

"After having long and maturely examined the book, so far from finding it worthy of censure, I recognised that it was based on Scripture and the Fathers, was full of light and unction, fit to nourish piety and introduce readers into the spirit of Christ's mysteries. Having always read the book before I was a bishop with the same edification with which the whole kingdom read it, and having continued to read it ever since, I never lay it down without some increase of humility and of fervour."

The celebrated Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, says :

“ The effect of the work in its earlier form of a commentary on the Gospels only was to reproduce in our days the zeal of primitive Christians for the study of God’s Word ; and when the whole New Testament came out, all French-speaking countries felt the salutary effect, nor could booksellers provide copies sufficient. Archbishop de Harlay was amongst those who welcomed it.”

But when the Cardinal de Noailles, who was one of the “ Prélats approbateurs,” became obnoxious to the Jesuits, they determined to pay him out by having the *Réflexions Morales* condemned, and, indeed, to make the Pope find more than one hundred heretical propositions in it. Thus arose the celebrated Bull *Unigenitus* of Clement XI in 1713. This Bull, says Saint-Simon, “ made so many martyrs, depopulated the schools, introduced ignorance, fanaticism and misrule, caused disorder everywhere, and established the most arbitrary and most barbarous Inquisition.”¹ No wonder that in this cause, as P. Perraud regretfully notes, “ with the exception of Jesuits and Sulpicians, all the religious orders in France did not fear to enter on open warfare against the authority of the Holy See.”² No wonder that, as M. Rocquain points out, “ the condemnation of express texts of St. Paul and of statements of St. Augustine and other Fathers, the Ultramontane maxims it contained, the part the Jesuits had in its composition, raised up universal outcry from Court, town, and country.”³

¹ Bayle St. John’s Translation, vol. ii. p. 250.

² *L’Oratoire de France*, 1865, p. 225.

³ *L’esprit révolutionnaire avant la Revolution*, 1878, p. 4.

In wills of the eighteenth century a clause may sometimes be read : “ I adhere with my last breath to the appeal which divers holy bishops, learned universities, and an almost infinite number of priests and religious have put forth against the Bull *Unigenitus*.” Among writers of our own Communion who take the same side are Bishop Thomas Wilson, whose *Sacra Privata* are largely drawn from Quesnel, Bishop Daniel Wilson, who adapted and republished the book with warm commendations, and Bishop George Horne. The latter writes : “ There is one book which I believe may be very acceptable, that is, Quesnel’s *Reflections on the New Testament*. He has a great talent in speaking to the heart and applying the history of the Gospel so as to advance us in the spirit and practice of the Christian life.”¹ Quesnel himself died, aged eighty-five, in 1719. Like St. Paul, he was “ in prisons frequent.”

Perhaps of all Port Royal divines the one who explains Scripture best is M. le Tourneux, in whose sermons and expositions Madame de Sévigné took especial delight. If we may presume to state our own experience of Port Royal commentators, it would be as follows : reading Nicole, we find weariness ; reading De Sacy, we admire the Fathers as expounders ; reading Quesnel, we marvel at the treasures of theology which he deduces from the sacred text ; reading Duguet, we admire the width and depth of meaning, the far onlook that he finds in Scripture ; reading M. le Tourneux, we forget the commentator and learn only to believe and to adore. Le Tourneux translated the Breviary, and the translation was instantly condemned by Archbishop de Harlay (“ the Archbishop of Paris must be mad to

¹ Works, edited by Jones of Nayland, vol. i. p. 231.

condemn it," wrote Le Tellier, Archbishop of Rheims, to Bossuet). He published also many excellent little books of practical devotion, a Life of Jesus Christ which ran through thirty editions, and, above all, his *Année Chrétienne*. This great work contains Masses for Sundays, Saints' days, and week-days throughout the year in Latin and French, with an explanation of the Epistle and Gospels and a brief life of each saint who is commemorated. He lived to publish six volumes which embrace the Christian year from Advent to the eve of Pentecost. The *Holy Week* was published first as a specimen, then came *Lent*, and finally, one by one, all the six volumes covering half the Christian year.

After the author's sudden death (in 1686), aged only forty-six, three more volumes (ending with the Fourteenth Sunday after Trinity) were published from his papers, and four more were completed by his friends ; but these latter, though faithful imitations, have not the savour of his own work. Each volume begins with the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass in Latin and in French ; also the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the season, with which are printed sequence, offertory, post-Communion, &c. The Epistle and Gospel for the season are fully and devoutly explained. Then come the Epistles and Gospels for those saints' days which fall within the compass of the volume, with a similar (though briefer) explanation and a history of the saint. A great deal of the Old Testament is treated of, for at Ember seasons Epistles are taken from the Old Testament, and on Saturdays five lessons of some length ; on most saints' days the Epistle is taken from the Sapiential books (Canonical or Deutero-Canonical), so that the choicest parts of these are treated in the course

of the year. Occasionally saints' day Epistles are from the Prophets. During Lent a large part of the Pentateuch or of the Prophets supply the daily Epistles for week days. Holy Week and Good Friday have their own Old Testament lections. As an excellent sketch of the life of each saint accompanies his day, a good deal of Church history is taught, both of the Early and Middle Ages. The characteristic of these explanations is gravity, simplicity, sincerity ; no words are wasted, no rhetoric used ; in reading we quite forget the author. The great drama of the Lord's life, death, and victory ; the fervent exhortations of the Apostles ; the vicissitudes of Old Testament history ; the depths of Old Testament wisdom ; the sufferings and triumphs of saints—all these by turns supply material for thought. The soul accepts counsels, adores mysteries, appropriates prayers, resolves to follow examples. Here are Scripture and Church history arranged for the believer's daily use. How noble a task, how worthily fulfilled, according to the measure of that day's science.

But among the expositors of Holy Scripture M. Duguet produced most. Of the eighty volumes of his works (he lived and wrote till he was eighty-four, dying in 1733), more than thirty are commentaries. His desire is to make Bible teaching illustrate Christian faith. He inclines to mystical analogies, but never forgets lessons of sound morality ; he has a great respect for the literal sense, and his notes are always modest and in good taste. On Genesis he shows most erudition, in the Passion history most eloquence ; in the Prophets he loves to find fulfilments yet to be accomplished in the restoration and conversion of Israel. The Psalms (he says) are the believer's treasure, and teach how to pray.

On the mystery of the Passion, Duguet is inexhaustible. No other writer brings such reverence, such insight, such tenderness to that awful subject, points out so well the contrast of sovereign power and of extreme weakness, both joined in the person of Jesus Christ. He dwells not merely on physical sufferings, but on the Father's love, the Son's voluntary obedience, the mysteries of Divine justice. His book on the *Six Days of Creation* is very admirable, full both of the love of nature and of the love of God. We must not wholly omit his rules for interpreting the Old Testament. Here is one rule: "Jesus Christ must be discerned wherever His Apostles discerned Him"; a second: "He may be discerned wherever certain characteristics are found which meet in Him only"; a third: "wherever the prediction far transcends the actual fulfilment of it a deeper sense lies behind"; a fourth: "there are certainly some passages where the predictive sense seems the only one intended"; a fifth: "predictions of temporal felicity never exhaust the full meaning of a promise"; a sixth: "there are passages where the mind is led on to a deeper sense by the inefficiency of legal covenants and privileges being declared." There are twelve such rules in all, and he applies them with infinite versatility and knowledge of the Bible, sometimes quoting "the illustrious M. Bossuet in his fine preface to the Apocalypse." It is told of a Benedictine monk on his deathbed, that after hearing read the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians he said: "That chapter is superior even to M. Duguet's eloquence"—but still to be compared with St. Paul is high praise.

We have briefly mentioned five great writers on

Scripture, but besides these Port Royal produced innumerable expositions, preached or published, and also effected a wide circulation of New Testaments and Psalters in French. As Dean Church says, "It was one of the earliest tendencies and efforts of the friends of Port Royal to popularise the Bible, and to make it in their own Church the household book of devotion and religious teaching which the Protestants had succeeded in making it."¹

III

When they chanced to find a sympathetic bishop, such as Litolphi-Maroni at Bazas, De Buzanval at Beauvais, De Coislin at Orleans, Bossuet at Troyes, Port Royal divines were employed as superiors of the seminary, where their congenial work was to watch over and perfect vocations to the priesthood. But they were always dismissed unceremoniously when a prelate of opposite opinions succeeded their friend. When M. Collard was superior of the seminary at Troyes (1730-42) he was noted for his care of the lads. He would not allow them to study during recreation time, and was grieved if their food was bad. He used to say that a priest must have at least four or five hours daily for study, besides his prayers, otherwise he would do no good. M. Collard's extempore sermons and catechisings were wonderful, and he had the art of conversing cheerfully and pleasantly with each of his pupils, so that all his rules were kept with joy.

What has Port Royal to tell us about vocation to the priesthood and the life and work of the priest? Its

¹ *Occasional Papers*, vol. i. p. 276.

annals record several cases of priests who, having made a very bad beginning in taking orders without any real vocation, on their conversion laid aside all exercise of the ministry and lived all their days as devout and penitent laymen. But the general teaching of Port Royal to such persons is, "Repair what has been imperfect in your entry on the priesthood by an absolute disinterestedness: never make preferment or worldly profit your aim." These are signs that a priest has a true vocation—when he leads a good life, is charitable to the poor, stands up for truth, advances in prayer and penitence. The common temptation of clergy is to be avaricious; there is great need for them to stand outside of the passion for getting rich. A priest must be religious not in name and appearance only, but in spirit and truth; it would be easier to convert a thousand Iroquois than one priest who is a lover of Babylon. The priest's most familiar tongue should be prayer, his chief object to dispose towards prayer those over whom he has influence.

"I have known" (says Sainte-Marthe) "priests far-famed for powers of direction, renowned confessors, who knew how to govern souls, full of illumination for others, but who cannot guide themselves. Every step they take leads them further from the truth. How sad is the lot of these learned men who are ignorant of their own condition! How long it has been the custom to take priest's orders without a call, to enter the cloister blindly and thoughtlessly, to seek for or buy preferment, to reduce clerical duty to the mere recitation of the Office. Ah! while we are so imperfect we must try not to be 'always the same,' but beg God to give us a new heart. The priest's condition is a bondage

which obliges him to serve Christ in his members ; however heavy be the chain, he must not set himself free. He is not at liberty to desert souls whom he can serve."

And here we may quote some thoughts about preaching. The preacher should consider whether God has called him to this work, and what sort of teaching his audiences need or can understand ; he must himself know the one thing needful. The most necessary subjects are to preach the Gospel and to preach Charity. In the pulpit never speak of persons by name nor mark them out by personal indications ; seek to edify the simple, and nourish them with the milk of the Word without introducing any bitterness or denunciation.

In practical theology every opinion which rests on one man's authority only is sure to be wrong. The best general rule of conduct is, never to do anything which seems wrong, and to consult conscience in all things. Instead of entering on a very severe Order, would it not be best to lead a very religious life at home ? A monk ought not to be a parish priest, for he is not at liberty to be wholly at the service of his parishioners. There is nothing so opposed to the spirit of priesthood as idleness ; many priests, when they have said their Office and their Mass, think themselves discharged from all duty, and that they have nothing more to do but amuse themselves. If priests had the charity they ought, they would always find means of employment ; if they could not preach, study, nor guide souls, they could find children to teach, or at least they could employ themselves in some handiwork and relieve the poor with the proceeds.

To say Mass rashly, or to abstain from saying Mass

through lukewarmness or sloth, is equally wrong. M. de Saint-Cyran's method of guidance was, never to constrain anyone or to enjoin great mortification, but so to touch hearts with the love of God that they grieved at having offended God and would do anything to please Him. Above all, he took great care to warn his penitents against occasions of sin. When anyone came to confession with apparent sincerity and sorrow for sin, he used to give absolution without curiously inquiring what kind of contrition it was. He recommended frequent Communion, but to communicate with the necessary disposition ; to obtain this he sometimes counselled penitents to abstain for a while.

The priest should never lose sight of his Saviour, do nothing except with His guidance, have always his heart open to listen to Christ. " I am astonished " (said Mère Angélique) " that priests who offer Christ's Body daily should not endeavour to offer their own heart at the same time." She was surprised at priests who were thought virtuous being particular about their table or their lodging.

IV

One other side of the teaching of the Port Royalists—the subject of evidences—demands a brief consideration. This subject is inseparably associated with the name of Pascal, almost to the exclusion of all others. But though Pascal is a great prophet, he is not alone ; he represents the topics, the spirit, the piety of Port Royal as a whole. His *Apology* was planned, discussed, set forth in union with his friends. He desires to show that religion has as great marks of certainty as what the

world calls most certain, most indubitable ; only, we must approach the subject with serious attention—our whole welfare depends upon it. Is there a righteous God, a Divine law, a Redeemer, a life to come, guidance by sovereign grace ? or are all these nought but dreams ? It matters exceedingly ; my whole self, my whole life depends on the answer. Let me, then, bring serious attention to the search. Certainly my settlement here on earth will not last long ; all that I have is constantly slipping away, as I soon shall myself. Looking at man, I see signs of greatness, and also signs of ruin ; he is placed between two infinities ; is a reed, but a reed that thinks ; he sees only a little way on either side ; his very nature is full of contradiction and absurdities ; yet, in good faith and speaking sincerely, I cannot doubt but that he has principles of natural reason, an image of God within, a capacity for loving God. There are signs in man of a higher nature, divine endowments, a fitness for loving God and for prayer ; again, there are baffling marks of disaster and corruption.

Certainty is an affair of the heart, or of the whole nature, not a conclusion of the mere intellect ; it grows of habit, it depends on choice. The wisest venture we can make is to accept a little evidence, trust it (if the heart bids), and live by it. The honest seeker finds what he seeks ; his heart is interested in the search. If we have in us some sparks of love to God, some respect for virtue, some reverence for sacred truth, we shall see in the Holy Gospel what suits our case. Certainty, again, comes not of arguments, but of moral witness. Metaphysical arguments drawn from the nature and properties of the Divine Being, teleologic arguments based on the adaptations of nature—these have little

power to touch or to hold. I want evidence that ordinary mankind can grasp and find satisfaction in. Above all, the sincere seeker welcomes Christ the Lord ; sees Him foreshadowed in Scriptures of old ; sees Him appear in predicted time and manner ; discerns in Him majesty veiled by obscurity, a demeanour of spotless purity, tender love, deep wisdom, only plunged in the darkness and meanness of humble life. But it is the sympathising eye that discerns Whom it loves, and can distinguish Him. Being found, the Saviour strongly recommends Himself ; the Holy Gospels in their deep simplicity exceedingly attract ; the Passion powerfully draws hearts. Grandeurs of earth's princes and rich men, grandeurs of intellect and genius, look as nothing beside Christ the Lord.

All these considerations are reinforced when I study the Bible. The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is revealed there, bids me love Him, teaches spiritual religion under ceremonial figures, shows truth disengaging itself from things carnal. I rejoice to see in the Old Testament that love to God is required, a Redeemer hoped for, everlasting life shadowed forth, a universal religion in prospect. All this gradually disengages itself from Old Testament history. Ancient figures and material rewards fall off, but true Israelites find that somewhat better is meant.

All these evidences are not logically conclusive. They go but a little way, but so far as they do go, the soul is helped by them to rise out of itself, and to search, though amid darkness. Also, the character of a true Christian powerfully attracts. Where else but in a true Christian can you find lasting peace, fervent charity, readiness to co-operate generously in all good

works ? The Church's prayers and praises, rising up through the ages, rising up over all the world, have also a great charm.

Pascal dwells on the substance of Christianity, laying aside points of difference among believers. From the midst of the seventeenth century he looks into the far future, and discerns the approach of the age of Reason, when all established certainties will come in question. On what rest human opinion, theology, government, society ? Do their foundations bear scrutiny ? What shall we find that can really stand and last ? Faith comes in to meet these demands.

V

Alas ! this great spiritual movement had great difficulties to face. A very learned and acute writer sums them up thus :

“ Jansenism might, like the German Reformation, have been the salvation of Europe but for two circumstances. One was that France, being then one great united monarchy, and not, like Germany, a congeries of little independent states, the facilities for crushing Jansenism with a strong hand were far greater than those for crushing the Lutheran Reformation. The chance in favour of Jansenism, in its very cradle, was the single one of its obtaining the favour of a single prince. The chances for Lutheranism were the chances of its gaining patronage from any one of many princes, whose characters were various and whose interests were divided.

“ Another circumstance adverse to the success of the Jansenist movement was that, even in order to maintain its own character, it was thrown into a fierce antagonism to the Protestant Church. Its dogmatic resemblance to Calvinism in its distinctive peculiarities could not be glossed over ; and to compensate for this its adherents were strongly tempted to even an exaggerated display of enthusiasm in behalf of other points in which they agreed with the great body of Roman Catholics. A body appealing freely for its own purposes to reason and scripture, and yet zealous for the doctrine of transubstantiation and the miraculous sanctity of the Holy Thorn ; a body which maintained with unflinching pertinacity the necessary outward oneness of organisation in the Catholic Church, under the chair of Peter, and yet was openly at variance with the chair of Peter and separated visibly from the Communion of the Western Church, wore an aspect of inconsistency which did not much recommend it to thinking minds ; and thus, weak within and powerfully assailed from without, it is no wonder that it should have failed to present any strong barrier to the springtide of infidelity that was then recovering from its temporary check.” ¹

Enemies were many. First, the King—Louis XIV—who from his boyhood had grown up with the idea that Jansenism implied a dangerous independence ; he did not care for speculative questions, and laughed at learning, but he liked absolute, unreasoning obedience,

¹ Bishop Fitzgerald's *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. pp. 138-9.

and the clergy in general were but too ready to flatter him. On hearing of the submissive demeanour of the sisters at Port Royal, he said, "I accept their obedience, but I am sorry that they are not of my religion." The King's glory, or his amours, or his desire to gratify M. de Pomponne or Madame de Longueville, overpowered for a moment his rooted dislike, but he never really laid aside his resolve to put down this spirit of independence. Still, at the last moment he sometimes drew back. Not long before the King's death, Clement XI sent to him a brief for Cardinal de Noailles, ordering the latter to receive the Bull within a fortnight, on pain of deposition from his dignity and prosecution for heresy by the Inquisition, but the King kept back the brief. Madame de Maintenon, in the long evenings they passed together, was never weary of reading to the King papers about Jansenist plots; nor would she let him, as he drew towards his end, make any change. In the first few months of the Regency royal power seemed to have changed sides, the Cardinal's grass-grown court was again thronged by courtiers, and the Bastille emptied of Jansenist prisoners. If the Regent had taken the advice of the Duc de Noailles and the Duc de Saint-Simon, and boldly supported the appellant bishops, he would have had all France at his back, but political and dynastic considerations decided him to take up again Louis XIV's policy. Cardinal Dubois, as Prime Minister, excused himself for not imprisoning more of the Jansenites than he did by saying that they were so abstemious and so retiring in their habits that prison life was no punishment to them—in France at least the royal house was a persistent enemy—when Joseph II or Leopold ruled, the case was otherwise.

A second foe was the Society of Jesus. The religious ideals of the Jesuits and of Port Royal were quite incompatible. Once, indeed, in the early days of the Mère Angélique's reform, P. Suffren, S.J., held a retreat at Port Royal, "whereby all the house was renewed"; but such tokens of goodwill soon ceased. Jesuit theology was quite at issue with the democratic character of Port Royal—with its insistence on the powers of the episcopate, its reduction of Papal absolutism to a strictly limited headship—no less than with the methods of Port Royal divines in the confessional, their strictness in requiring moral fitness for the sacraments, their exaltation of individual responsibility and of the Bible as a guide, and their preference of ancient theologians over modern. Jansenius said, speaking of the Rule of Faith, "*arbitror Sacrae Scripturae libris, conciliis et primorum saeculorum patribus nos contentos esse debere.*" To all this view of things the Jesuits were in entire opposition; also they were jealous of the concurrence of Port Royal in education and in influencing the great. Pascal recognised his true foes when, in the fourth Provincial letter, he turned straight on the Society and began to deal it remorseless blows. As they furnished the King's confessor, the Jesuits had the nomination to almost all bishoprics and filled the sees of France with their partisans. Rarely was a bishop appointed without their concurrence. Yet it was so in one notable instance, when De Noailles was made Archbishop of Paris. Towards the close of Louis XIV's reign the conflict between Jesuits and Jansenists was at its height. The Cardinal suspended all Jesuits in his diocese with the exception of the King's confessor Père Tèllier only (him he allowed under protest). He

said he could not trust them, and that they allowed their scholars to approach the Sacraments while living in habitual sin and constant corruption. The Jesuits retaliated by excluding him from Court. This warfare never ceased till, after the middle of the century, the Jesuits had to fight for their own existence against the sovereigns of Europe, who required their suppression. To the heroic side of the Company of Jesus, who beat down the Reformation over half Europe and evangelised the New World and the East by countless noble lives and patient deaths, to the achievements of Jesuits in education or in science, Port Royal never did justice. Closely knit to the Jesuits was the party of Fénelon, Port Royal's most subtle and unrelenting enemy (an enemy, too, with such dazzling gifts). His last days were chiefly spent in arranging with Père Têllier how to root out Jansenism by deprivations and imprisonments ; he had never forgiven the condemnation of the *Maximes des Saints*.

Their third enemy was the Pope ; but not the Pope personally, for often the Pope was not unfriendly to the disciples of St. Augustine. In Innocent XI they saw in the chair of Peter a Pope whose ideals were their own. The Bishop of Castoria, in his *Amor Pœnitens* (a strongly Jansenist book, which enforces the need of contrition to obtain pardon, and shows that in the reception of all Sacraments is involved a resolution of obedience to the Gospel), claims in his doctrine to follow Pope Innocent XI, " whose representative he is in the Low Countries and to whose judgment he willingly submits his writings." On the other hand, the King's Procureur-Général bitterly complains of the same Pope as making common cause with the Jansenists and loading

them with favours. It was not individual Popes, but the spirit of the Roman Curia, that was firmly set against Port Royal. That Court was disinclined then as ever to the stirring of speculative questions, but gladly embraced opportunities of exalting the Pope's authority, even of extending it to decide matters of fact. It did not aim at the re-affirmation of ancient doctrine, but at the enforcement of blind obedience ; also it claimed to supersede the ancient independence of the episcopal order. Having to bear the heavy burden of infallibility, papal authority is never able to withdraw or correct its own past decisions. The declaration that the five propositions were contained in the *Augustinus*, and were intended by Jansenius, having been once made the standard of catholicity, could never be altered—later on, not five, but a hundred and one propositions were imposed on believers. Dr. Owen (Cromwell's Dean of Christ Church) in his remarkable preface to Theophilus Gale's *True Idea of Jansenism* (1669), after commenting on the methods of the Papal Court in giving and enforcing dogmatic decisions, says : “ Strong delusion doth assuredly possess the minds of those who can believe that such lies have any footstep or foundation in the religion of Jesus Christ.” The sisters of Port Royal, when they had declared their absolute agreement with the Pope on all questions of doctrine, were threatened that, unless they declared their agreement with the Pope's decision that these doctrines were taught by Jansenius, they were *ipso facto* heretics, cut off from salvation, unfit for the Sacraments or for Christian burial. The same treatment was applied to all those who made scruples in accepting the Papal condemnation of P. Quesnel. When some French bishops pro-

posed to examine and approve the *Unigenitus* as being judges of doctrine together with the Pope, Clement XI absolutely refused, his object being to make bishops merely the ministers and executors of his decrees.

It is not strange, that, with such enemies, Port Royal doctrine found it hard to exist ; what is strange and wonderful is the way in which its adherents lived and fought with such persistence in defence of their principles.

Here are some of the theological positions anathematised in the *Unigenitus* : Man is nothing at all apart from Divine grace ; contrition is a necessary part of true repentance ; servile fear is of no use except so far as it restrains the hand from sin ; either the love of God or else the love of self rules the heart exclusively ; original righteousness is a divinely given property of our nature when unfallen ; the Church of God is a mystical body, consisting of Christ the Head and all true believers united with Him ; the Church in these latter days is obscured by corruptions and errors ; habitual sinners should not be admitted at once to the Holy Table ; Scripture must not be denied to the laity ; the faithful ought to join with the priest in public prayers ; it is wrong to multiply needless oaths ; excommunication when unjust hurts only the utterer. The condemnation of these doctrines was thorough, proclaimed by the Pope, welcomed by the French Crown, forced down reluctant throats. Those who would not accept it were excluded from their office or order, imprisoned, refused the Sacraments at death, or when buried torn up out of consecrated ground. Those who appealed to a General Council against the Bull were declared heretics. All the patronage of power, all

the threats of Church and State, were used to get these propositions (a hundred and one in all, mostly of the same style) thoroughly damnified and wiped out. The Pope, the Jesuits, a great majority of the bishops, the charm of Fénelon's eloquence, the prisons of France and the Low Countries—all were used against these doctrines. Other influences in the same direction were the rising tide of rationalism, the scoffs of Frederick and Voltaire, the general loosening of all belief. It might surely have been expected that these dogmas would have been done with now, buried out of sight and memory, involved in universal contempt. Indeed, they must have had a deep root somewhere. Turn from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the latter years of it, and open the Bull *Auctorem Fidei* of Pius VI, issued in the year 1794 to condemn the synod of Pistoia, which had been held in 1786. Here we are in the beginning of the great tide of reaction which was roused by the excesses of the French Revolution. This tide of reaction was encouraged everywhere by English arms and money, and rose very high at last, restoring the Jesuits and the Inquisition, setting up the Sacred Heart and the Holy Alliance, shooting Liberals, passing sacrilege laws, gagging the press, dispersing political meetings, riveting fast again the broken chains of privilege—a "White Terror" nearly as formidable as the Red Terror, which had ebbed. However, in 1794 we are only at the beginning of the counter revolution. We find all the same doctrines brought up again, to be condemned, with voluble iteration, by the same authority. We might have thought they were dead and done for, but they reappear, embodied this time in eighty-six propositions. Here are textual extracts from the Bull of 1794 :

“ It is heresy to declare that in these latter ages there is a general obscuration of religious doctrine and practice ; or that the Church is Christ’s mystical body, composed of the Head and of the members, who are inwardly united with Him ; or that holy love is the special grace of the New Testament, and given to counteract in us the love of self ; or that servile fear is no part of true repentance ; or that man left to himself can make no movement towards good and is powerless to keep God’s law ; or that penance should not be allowed at once to the relapsed ; or that nothing but absolute inability can excuse from Bible-reading ; or that the people ought to join in the Church’s offices with voice as well as heart ; or that the multiplied oaths which ecclesiastics take ought to be abolished.”

No doubt the list of “ exsecranda ” has widened with the century ; the *Auctorem Fidei*, which condemns the decrees of a diocesan synod, has a wider range than the *Unigenitus*, which condemns the reflections of a devotional manual. Some peculiarities of the later Bull are worthy of notice. Under it it is damnable to maintain that the Church has no control over temporal rights or power to constrain faith by force (in Louis XIV’s time Jansenists scarcely dared to utter that !) ; or that each bishop has received from Christ the right of granting all necessary dispensations to his flock ; or that priests in synod are judges of doctrine along with the bishop ; or that the full benefits of the Divine Sacrifice can only be enjoyed by sharing in Holy Communion ; or that there ought to be only one altar in each church ; or that the supposed treasure of the merits of Christ

and the saints which can be applied in indulgences is a mere fiction ; or that reserved cases, privileged altars, and tables of indulgences are all rubbish ; or that marriage in itself, apart from the Church's blessing, is a civil act and cognisable by the State ; or that devotion to the Sacred Heart is erroneous and dangerous (that devotion had come into fashion since 1713) ; or that images of the Holy Trinity should be removed from the Church ; or that scholastic theology is to be reprobated and laid aside. These are addenda to the former list, but the general aspect of the thing condemned is the same—it is the doctrine of Augustine as to man's natural inability and unworthiness, apart from the omnipotence of Divine grace ; it is the doctrine which claims for the understanding and conscience a part in religion, and is not content with mere devotional feeling or outward homage ; which maintains the necessity of reading Holy Scripture, of reforming the Church, of having true contrition in order to obtain forgiveness, of recurring to primitive times and a democratic episcopacy instead of blindly submitting to Papal autocracy.

One other glimpse of the vitality of Jansenism may be found in the records of the *Eglise Constitutionnelle*, which the Revolution created. Dr. Pisani, in his book *L'Episcopat Constitutionnel* says that the constitutional bishops were by no means all Jansenists doctrinally, but mostly “ of a practical Jansenism—that of austere piety and rigorous morality ” ; they professed to teach nothing but what was in Scripture, in the Councils, and in the Fathers ; they regarded themselves as true bishops, independently of the Pope's approval ; after they had been purified from unworthy members by the fire of persecution and had been reconstituted in 1795,

“there was not remaining one among them of doubtful morality ; their religion, if somewhat narrow, was sincere. They would have been holy persons and adequate bishops but for their blind and tenacious adherence to the principles of Gallicanism ; by this they were ‘ bien les héritiers du Jansénisme.’ ” Many of them gave much more active tokens of their sympathy with the ideas of the party.

It has been pronounced folly to endeavour to lay ideas with a sword. The foregoing history will have shown that a pickaxe, a “ lettre de cachet,” or an ecclesiastical anathema, are equally unavailing for the purpose. We conclude with Sainte-Marthe’s words on the death of a truth-lover: “ From the moment that he gained particular knowledge of the Truth he was always faithful to it ; he made it sovereign of his heart, he had no other desire but to practise it, he laboured only for its interests, he followed it where the path was hardest. He joyfully sacrificed to it goods, liberty, and life ; he consecrated himself to its service in Truth’s evil day, when it was hated by all the world. In exchange, Truth loaded him with blessings and kept alive in his heart a peace and inward joy which no powers of darkness could destroy. As Truth delivered him from this world’s temptations and made him even in this life rejoice in the happy liberty of God’s children, I trust that he is now for ever with his Liberator.”

THE SPIRIT OF PORT ROYAL

Extract from "The Guardian," September 30, 1903

"Cet Port Royal tant aimé des siens" was (as M. Ste. Beuve, its great historian, says) not only a theological school, or an attempt at ecclesiastical reform, but also a grave and pathetic drama, in which noble and tender figures cross the stage. Nay, it was remarkable as an endeavour to conciliate the ancient faith, in some measure, with the demands of reason and conscience; to proclaim boldly the virtue of the Saving Cross in face of the age of science just beginning to dawn on France:

"Whoso knows not Port Royal knows not human nature," said M. Royer Collard; he himself "felt deeply the moral greatness of Port Royalists, their purity and unselfishness"; he proposed them to himself as "models to be followed." And Vinet says: "Of the revivals which have marked the history of Christianity this is certainly the finest."

But, and this is noticeable, the quality of this reform has passed beyond its own time and country; it has strangely fascinated persons of quite other types and surroundings. Here are (taken somewhat at random, as I happened to notice them) some conquests of Port Royal on strange ground:

The Rev. R. W. Sibthorp, a devout and munificent

soul, who could not find perfect rest, after several trials, either in Evangelicalism or in Rome :

“ I come more and more to the conclusion that the Port Royal Catholics are the nearest to the Christians of the fourth and fifth centuries in spirit, in faith, in practice, of any I can find to make acquaintance with. There was a somewhat too strict Calvinism about some of them ; but they were men of a most Christian spirit and temper, Evangelical members of the Catholic Church.”

Bishop Hannington, a martyr of our own day, the first Bishop of the C.M.S. Missions in Eastern Africa :

“ Mr. D. has left me his Jansenist engravings and books. I became intensely interested in them, and I think that many of my opinions have been slightly modified and my sympathies enlarged.”

Hannah More, a well-known model of strict eighteenth century piety :

“ I am glad you have so much contributed to make Port Royal known to this country. Even religious readers are in general ignorance of the treasures of religion and learning possessed by these devout people.”

She is writing to her friend Mrs. Schimmelpenninck, a Quaker lady of Moravian tendencies, who had formerly “ received a parcel from Mrs. Hannah More, containing some volumes of the Port Royal writers ” :

“ They seemed providentially sent to meet the inmost wants of her heart and spirit, in a season of outward trial and perplexity. Port Royal books were henceforth her chosen friends and companions, the subject of her daily studies and the delight of her daily life.” “ Amidst many errors and super-

stitutions," Daniel Wilson, of Islington, finds in the Port Royal writers "deep spirituality of mind, unaffected humility, holy love to the Divine Saviour, a simple repose on the grace of the Holy Spirit, a life of devotion and courageous obedience."

Mr. John Morley remarks (in his *Life of Oliver Cromwell*) that :

"Leighton, one of the few wholly attractive characters of those bitter flavoured times, was closely intimate with the French Jansenists."

Dean Church ends my list with a grand eulogy. He calls Port Royal :

"The greatest religious birth of the French Church, before whose heroic and sublime singleness of mind, thoroughness of purpose, hatred of pretence and display, even the majesty of Bossuet and the grace of Fénelon, and the sweetness of St. François de Sales, and the grand erudition of the Benedictines fall into a second place."

What shall we say attracted towards Port Royal these various dispositions and tastes ? Let me try to represent the charm by collecting some thoughts, here and there, from the lives and writings of those who framed the spell.

True devotion does not consist in feelings or in phrases, but in a certain uniformity and regularity of service to God. I should adopt a plan of life and keep to it invariably, unless under some great necessity ; but I must take care not to burden myself with too many outward works, neglecting the heart ; for souls are dearer to God than actions. He does not love our works so much as ourselves. Nay, if needful, He takes the will for the deed. I should be a truth-lover, and follow

where truth leads, even by difficult paths, even through dark days. Truth may be hidden for a while, but will shine out gloriously at last. Truth unites its friends together and richly rewards them for the sacrifices they make for it. Truth gives more and more light to those who follow it. In reading Church history or the lives of saints I must be careful to look out for truth and reject falsehoods. As far as outward things go, I should be content in any circumstances. In spiritual things I must not take “*semper eadem*” for my motto. Oh no, I daily need a new heart, a new impulse. I am so imperfect that I need to be renewed daily. But, as far as outward things go, I do not crave for change. If I but love God, then health and sickness, success and failure, are equally good roads to heaven ; then tempest, loss, or prison can but work out God’s will for me.

The spiritual guides whom I have, and whom I venerate, point me to the true and Divine Guide. God’s Providence designs for us certain persons through whom He teaches what is needful for our salvation. Yet He Himself is our real Teacher, our Supreme Director ; none can take His place. What Christ is His friends know by close experience. His Sacred Wounds are a never-failing Refuge. He has shed His Blood for each one of us. While on earth He felt for all our troubles of body or soul, and does so still. He won eternal glory for us as well as for Himself. Repentance, to be saving, must not be mere fear of wrath ; it involves some love of God, some hatred of evil ; it requires us to make amends for the past. Sacraments and holy ordinances (administered to adults) imply a pledge on the receiver’s part that he will endeavour henceforth to serve God. Otherwise they are fruitless. Man has

fallen from his first glorious felicity, and has to be restored by suffering. His faculties are all in confusion. He knows not his true end. He needs the Divine Physician. This life is a dark, wintry road, full of storms, fog, and darkness ; spring and summer will be elsewhere. God gives health, riches, wisdom, strength, joyfulness, on purpose that the receivers may share these gifts with their brethren who are in opposite condition. It is a great blessing, and a sure presage of salvation, when anyone has a spirit of hearty application to the needs of the poor.

A man's virtue is tested by what he is at home and in his own family ; parents by their care for their children ; masters and mistresses by their care for their households. True piety consists in doing what God appoints for us to do—we should never let slip any occasion of helping our brethren. In a priest, the greatest sign of piety is attention to the work to which God has called him. He is bound to serve Christ in his poor members. The priesthood is so great and excellent a calling that none should seek it without purity of life and much deliberation. Take courage ; never think again of past sins which you have once repented of and confessed ; leave them all behind to God's mercy and go forward courageously. Above all things, never give up trusting in God, Whose power and mercy are infinite, and Who is pledged to carry you through. He is our Father, and has bidden us trust Him ; nothing can hurt us if we desire to remain His. The abundance of His grace is such that He can sanctify souls in any calling or condition. How wonderful was His mercy in our conversion, and that was but a beginning of his favours. Grace is like a

chain, one link depending upon another all through our life.

The Blessed Eucharist and the Divine Office are the two chief parts of Christian devotion, and are meant for all believers to join in—we can never exhaust the lessons and the mysteries which they contain. It is well to supply the unlearned with translations and explanations of Missal and Breviary, and thus enable them to worship with understanding. It is a good work to circulate New Testaments, books of prayer and practical treatises, in the vernacular. In devotional exercises always take care to mix some good reading with your meditations. If you find difficulty in formal or systematic contemplation, take the Gospel or a book of piety, and listen to God there, reading small portions at a time and then considering them. Ignorant and simple souls can find, no doubt, great illumination if they remain before Him, patiently awaiting His time. But never be persuaded by false spirituality to lay aside regular hours of prayer, books of instruction, means of grace. God's written word should be received with like feelings of devotion as Christ's Sacramental Body ; it should be consulted daily as the soul's light and guide.

What is earth's greatness that it should dazzle our eyes ? Faith and the approval of my own conscience are priceless treasures, of which the whole world cannot deprive me. I may be separated by outward authority from the communion of the Church ; but, unless I deserve it, such a sentence cannot really separate me from the love of God ; only sin can do that. It is a mercy of God if I am in a humble place, without wide influence or shining gifts. Observe how patient the poor are, while persons brought up in luxury cannot

bear the slightest loss. Earth's glory and majesty are in God's sight nought but a heavier burden and more dread responsibility. Of persons highly placed God requires specially two things—one, that they should stand up for justice and right always ; and the other, that they should help the afflicted. If in these two things they do their duty God will judge them mercifully. Never be idle ; as far as you are able, wait on yourself ; if possible, do some work with your own hands. Never waste any of the short and precious time which God allows you. Persevere steadfastly with undertakings seriously begun. Do not enter on anything precipitately, nor without consulting God and good advisers. Take up a good work with much deliberation ; but, when once adopted, pursue it unchangeably. How can you get through life's difficult and conflicting duties without a spirit of ready obedience to the demands of your calling ?

Above all, never forget your last end. All plans you make should

“ With the churchyard shadows blend,

Which thy last entering there shall in sweet peace attend.”

To stir up sloth and show us what we are, the thought of death is very salutary. What great consolations come to a dying Christian ! He knows indeed that he has been a bad servant, but he has a good Master. In a believer's end joy overpowers pain and fear, yet it is best to keep silence then, not to make loud professions or to speak much of one's own feelings. Psalm verses serve best to express the hopes and prayers of the dying. When I see my friends and relatives die, God warns me that my turn will soon come. Sickness and

pain help to purify the soul and make us fitter to die. Even if prolonged, even if accompanied by extreme weakness or mental decay, a sick bed is part of God's merciful dealing and a seed time of all sorts of graces.

So far I have summed up what Port Royalists have taught me ; and I say—Here is Catholicism of a healthy sort, not made up of

“Metallic beliefs and regimental devotions.”

Here is Faith centred on the Cross, in harmony with conscience, guided by genuine antiquity, based on Scripture. Here is a spirit of hearty confidence in God's victorious grace (after the teaching of St. Paul and St. Augustine). Here is a ready acceptance of the burdens that God sends ; but it is no slavish passivity ; it reckons godliness to consist in active efforts to redress what is wrong and to help the helpless.

How far did Port Royal get on the way to Biblical criticism and the modern view of Scripture ? Only a little way. They fought hard for liberty to translate the Bible and to read it when translated. To ascertain the meaning they recurred willingly to the original text. They strove to establish (first of all) the literal sense and its connection with the context. They desired to see a people of Bible readers, able to read and comprehend the sacred Book. This was as far as it was possible to go then ; this was a seed which sprang up. How far did they appreciate the rights of conscience ? Not enough, I allow. They had found out indeed that a religion enforced by terror is not true religion. The religion they inculcated was a free submission, an intelligent choice, a faith not consisting in grimaces or ceremonies. But their reverence for a

despotic king made them approve of his coercive measures ; they had, alas ! to justify their existence by writing books against the Protestants. No, they did not dare to stand up for toleration. Still, they hated the Inquisition and the Jesuits. This is something in their favour. They had little chance to persecute, being always persecuted themselves. Those bishops (such as the Cardinal de Coislin) who favoured the Jansenists were the very ones who protested against the Dragonnades. If Port Royalists had in the days of their transient favour (the first days of the Regency) frankly given their voice for toleration, it would have been much better. But on this subject their own example is better than their precepts. They would not buy the King's favour or the privilege of sacramental Communion as the price of a retractation. This was what wanted doing in that day, and they did it.

How far were they in harmony with the modern world just dawning ? If it is true (as Bishop Butler says) that " the continuance of learning and liberty " is the condition of progress, these were the two things that they strove to foster, as far as was possible in the " siècle de Louis XIV." Pascal represents Port Royal in relation to scientific questions. He has a far-seeing gaze, a great insight into the powers of nature and the coming changes in society. All the steps in scientific discovery that he took were real steps, not to be retraced. The tendency of Port Royal doctrines towards active reform within the borders of Catholicism may be traced in the career of Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia, who drew all his inspiration from Port Royal. He endeavoured in his episcopate (1779-91) to meet the approaching Revolution by improving education, by

diminishing the number of convents and redressing abuses among the religious, by weeding out false devotions, by reviving the powers inherent in the episcopal office. The false Decretals, the usurpations of the Papal Court, winking images and indulgenced altars, were all hateful to him. No doubt he was overthrown and crushed by the tide of reaction ; but he never admitted that he was heretical or in error. A better-known example of Jansenist reform is the dogmatic part of the “ Constitution civile.” That was an attempt (worthy of a better fate) to provide a democratic Episcopacy, in union with (not in subjection to) Rome ; maintaining the ancient orthodoxy, but administering it in conformity with the requirements of the Revolution. However, it was no time then, amidst the clash of worlds, for reforms on a Christian basis to have any chance of lasting.

In Ultramontane or Jesuit writers I find, of course, nothing but scorn for my subject. As Professor Jowett says, “ There is one article of faith in which they are all agreed, in hatred of Port Royal.” Some unbelievers echo their sentiments. Michelet says : “ Here is much fuss over a little Catholic sect, exaggerated out of all proportion.” He says : “ The eighteenth century has only disgust, horror, weariness for all these seventeenth-century disputes ”—he laughs at the pale glimmer, the *via media* attitude of the party, in contrast with the dazzling splendour and trenchant tones of philosophic Rationalism. But yet, as I began with saying, Port Royal, though it has long been dust, has had its lovers, its heroes, its martyrs, its victories, its work to do ; nor do I think its influence is exhausted yet. I speak to those who desire to see an interior Reformation within the lines of Catholic faith and practice.

PORT ROYAL AND PREACHING *

Extract from " Church Quarterly," January 1910

PORT ROYAL was not only " une élite immortelle d'honnêtes gens et de bons écrivains," but it was a movement, like Tractarianism in nineteenth-century England, to recall antiquity, revive the Fathers, make ancient days of faith live again, proclaim the power of Divine Grace working in the Church. Port Royal strove for these ends by giving Christian education, by circulating religious books suited to various classes of readers, by

- * 1. *Mémoires de St. Cyran.* Par. C. Lancelot. Two volumes. (Cologne, 1738.)
 - 2. *Histoire de Port Royal.* Par C. A. Sainte-Beuve. New Edition. Seven volumes. (Paris, 1901.)
 - 3. *Entretiens de la Mère Angélique.* One volume. (Brussels, 1757.)
 - 4. *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Port Royal et à la vie de la Rév. Mère Angélique.* Three volumes. (Utrecht, 1742.)
 - 5. *Lettres de la Mère Angélique.* Three volumes. (Utrecht, 1742.)
 - 6. *Mémoires de Pierre Thomas du Fossé.* Four volumes. (Rouen, 1879.)
 - 7. *Histoire de la vie de N.S.J.C.* Par N. Le Tourneux. One volume. (Paris, 1717.)
 - 8. *De la Meilleure Manière d'entendre la Sainte Messe.* Par N. Le Tourneux. (Paris, 1717.)
 - 9 *Bossuet orateur.* Par E. Gandar. One volume. (Paris, 1868.)
 - 10. *The Story of Port Royal.* By Ethel Romanes. (London: John Murray, 1907.)
- And other Works.

translating Scripture and the Fathers, by setting an ascetic ideal of life and a lofty standard for the sacred ministry. Sermons also had their part. The purpose of this article is to put together all that the writer has found in Port Royal literature concerning preaching and preachers. Much has changed since the days of seventeenth-century France, yet perhaps sacred topics and the hearts of listeners will still be found sufficiently the same to give interest to these memoranda.

The first dawn of spiritual life at Port Royal was through a sermon. When the Mère Angélique (to call Jacqueline Arnauld by her later title) was brought there as a child, in 1602, to be abbess in that ancient Cistercian house over thirteen nuns who were leading a peaceful, easy life, no preaching had been heard for thirty years, except on the rare occasion of a sister's profession. For a few years things went on as in the past—a life, if free from serious scandals, yet quite without purpose or seriousness; but it so happened that a Capucin monk came to preach in the Lent of 1608. Of his sermon we know nothing, but he brought with him and left behind for the sisters a book of simple religious meditations. This fell into the hands of the young abbess. She was only sixteen, in poor health and spirits, deeply dissatisfied with the enforced burden of her vows, which she longed to shake off. She with her sister Jeanne (afterwards the Mère Agnès) had been pushed into “religion” in childhood, and obliged to continue in it, by her father M. Arnauld's craft and worldly policy. He saw in the métier of abbess only a decent preferment for his daughter; he had obtained the nomination by the king's favour and the Bulls from Rome by falsifying her age. The young abbess found

comfort in this simple book, and still more in the sermon of another Capucin, Père Basile, who came to the monastery late one afternoon and offered to preach. The abbess at first thought it too late, but afterwards agreed ; that evening the Community attended his sermon. It would seem that the preacher spoke of the abasement of the Son of God in His human birth and infancy. However, the abbess herself could not in after years give an exact account of the sermon ; but so it was, while listening she felt God speak to her heart and point out to her the happiness of the “religious” life, so that she esteemed it now as much as she had abhorred it before—she felt there was nothing that she was not ready to do for God. This occasion she always felt to be the dawn of grace in her heart. It was not any grace in the Père Basile himself, for he proved afterwards to be quite unworthy ; nor did the abbess consult him in private, but sent him a message of thanks for his sermon.

After this experience of grace the Mère Angélique felt a great desire to lead an ascetic life and make her religious profession a reality, though she foresaw the struggle that she would have in making reforms, both with her superiors and with her own family. On All Saints’ Day, 1608, a Bernardine monk (called, from his abbey, M. de Vauclair) came to preach. M. Arnauld, the father, hearing of the Capucins and their disturbing sermons, had forbidden them to come near the place. This preacher took for his text : “Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness’ sake” ; his words encouraged Mère Angélique in her difficult path, and the preacher, when she came to speak with him, confirmed the impression. So she invited all the Com-

munity to give up each their own private property and thus make their vow of poverty a reality—this was the first step in reform. Soon after, on September 25, 1609 (known in Port Royal annals as the “*journée du guichet*”) she summoned courage to make the monastic enclosure a reality by shutting out her family when they came to visit her, leaving them outside the grille—an agonising day for all! Mme. Arnauld, in her first vexation, vowed that she would never go to see her daughter again, and though her anger was soon appeased, she felt bound by her rash vow. However, about a year after, on August 4, 1610, in the Jacobin church at Paris, she heard a preacher explain that rash and hasty promises ought to be broken, not kept; so she was glad to hurry off at once to Port Royal and see her daughter, who always kept the 4th of August in remembrance of this reconciliation. This is the same Madame Arnauld who in her widowhood, twenty years after, was moved by a sermon she heard at Port Royal to enter the noviciate herself and become a subject of her daughter’s abbatial rule. She became blind not long after her profession, but preserved always great simplicity, quietness of mind, reverent humility. She died at the age of sixty-eight, after twelve years of profession, during the time of M. de St. Cyran’s imprisonment. When he heard of her death he said of her: “A soul indeed solid and built on the rock.” Meanwhile (Mère Angélique says) “the house continued in the right way, possessing great peace and great poverty.” Spiritual guides were much lacking, for she could not endure monastic confessors. Two things dear to her heart she got done by royal and papal favour: one, to get rid of her dignity and make the abbacy elective

every three years (four times over she was herself elected to it, quite against her own will); and the other, to get rid of monastic superiors and become subject to the Archbishop of Paris as ordinary.

What preachers do we find at Port Royal in its early days of fervour? The Père Suffren, a Jesuit, used to come. One day he preached on the Gospel of the Labourers in the Vineyard, teaching from St. Paul's words—"The grace which was bestowed upon me was not in vain," and "Not I, but the grace of God that was with me"—that God's grace is necessary for every good action. Another day when he came to Port Royal and asked to see the sister, Anne-Eugénie Arnauld, then a novice (she came next in the family to the Mère Angélique and Mère Agnès, and had joined them there: in the world she had been reckoned fashionable and charming), she was in the kitchen, and came out to meet him in her cooking dress, with a black apron, a knife hanging at her girdle, and her hands red with scouring pots. He merely said: "Mademoiselle, I have never seen you so well dressed."

Another favourite preacher in early days was the Père Archange (a Herbert by birth, of the noble house of Pembroke). Amongst other wise counsels he recommended the abbess never to allow conversations between the sisters and the monks who came to preach, "even though they had preached like angels."

What a feast for Mère Angélique, then at Maubuisson (a convent near Pontoise, to which she had been sent by the general of the Cistercian order to reform it, under great difficulties), when St. Francis de Sales preached there and gave Confirmation, April 5, 1619. He came twice or thrice, once for a whole week. Also

he went to Port Royal to see the Mère Agnès, who had been left there as coadjutrix. He was welcomed by all the Arnauld family and saw something of each. He bade Mère Angélique moderate her natural activity of mind : “ O ma fille, ne croyez pas que l’œuvre puisse être sitôt faite.”

M. Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, Abbé de St. Cyran, the great inspirer of Port Royal, began to correspond with Mère Angélique about 1623. He preached “ beautifully ” there on the Festival of the Ascension in 1625. He used to visit and preach occasionally up till 1633, when he undertook the direction of the Community at the earnest entreaty of the Mère Geneviève, who was then abbess. His authority lasted for five brief but fruitful years, up to his imprisonment in Vincennes by order of Cardinal Richelieu, in May 1638. At his advice the sisters (who were then inhabiting Port Royal de Paris, built for them in the Fauxbourg St. Jacques, their house at Les Champs lying deserted for about twenty years) began to observe the rule of St. Benedict in its original strictness : to say Matins at 2 A.M. (instead of in the evening) ; to give up “ Recreation ” twice a day, in which jesting and ridicule of one another had been practised, and to restore in its stead daily “ Conférence,” where conversation had a more serious and improving character. M. de St. Cyran guided the sisterhood (says Sister Anne-Eugénie Arnauld, an excellent authority) on these principles ; he would keep them separate from the world, avoiding all unnecessary intercourse with those without ; he would have those in authority excuse every fault that could be excused, never reproving at once, but waiting till the fault had been thrice committed, and then saying

but one word; he would have each sister repress curiosity and attend to her own charge. Above all, the Divine Office should be performed with great reverence and recollection: it is best not to be too prompt to correct discordances or mistakes in the service which, if left to themselves, will mostly be put right. In prayer these three things should be aimed at: trust in God, peace of mind, oblivion of past faults. Above all, covetousness should be avoided, which is the crying sin of too many religious houses. The sisters should be ready and willing to do all things that need to be done, never thinking the humblest job too mean. When Sister Anne-Eugénie told M. de St. Cyran that her work was to look after the children, he said: "That is a favourable employment, for, if you forgive their faults, God will forgive yours; if you show them mercy, God will be merciful to you." This point of view as to her duties surprised her much. "With children," he added, "the essentials are to exhort little, to put up with much, and above all to pray for them."

Of M. de St. Cyran's set sermons we find little trace, but he used, just before his imprisonment in 1638, to expound Holy Scripture to a small company of disciples who shared his prayers and studies. These expositions were so edifying, so full of Divine unction, especially when he was explaining the Holy Gospels, that his hearers had never heard the like. His addresses were not written, but spoken from the fulness of his heart. On the Feast of St. Paul's Conversion, Lancelot (the memoir-writer) was present at one of these, when the speaker seemed, like the Apostle, "caught up into the third heaven," able, too, to take his hearers up with him. On Easter Day, in his address M. de St. Cyran

said that the Blessed Virgin did not need to receive the first visit of her Risen Son, because her faith and firmness were independent of this exterior consolation. On Ascension Day (the day before he was arrested and conveyed to the dungeons of Vincennes) he gave as many as three addresses, after the pattern of the Son of God, Who, seeing His hour approaching, spoke to His disciples at greater length and revealed to them higher mysteries. Then came his imprisonment of almost five years and stopped his mouth, though he managed to carry on by stealth an apostolate of letter-writing. Nor during the seven or eight months that he was free before his death (October 9, 1643) was he able to speak in public.

As to his own theory of preaching, we find him saying :

“Preaching is a greater mystery than the Eucharist, for there souls are not only nourished, but new-born or raised to life. If I had occasion to preach, I should present myself before God and ask Him to give me some thoughts on the subject that I wished to speak of—having found the thoughts, I should set them down, pray over them from time to time, and finally utter them in all simplicity. After my sermon I should retire to my room and kneel before God, and should avoid any conversation about my sermon, its success or failure, leaving all with God, and letting others think what they like.”

He said to M. Singlin :

“If you have to preach this coming Advent, pray first and then utter what God puts into your heart, by way of exposition rather than of formal oratory.

Twice a week will do, and speak only for a quarter of an hour each time. Meanwhile nourish yourself with Catholic truths and books so as not to say anything but what God and the Church have taught you."

He used to say that he had been shocked in his young days at a sermon preached by Père Cotton before Henry IV, in which the preacher said of that monarch (who was living in open adultery) that he rejoiced to see in him so many marks of God's eternal predestination to life.

Lancelot, in describing St. Cyran, apologises for representing him to perhaps indifferent or hostile readers too exactly as he was: "After all, there are things which should be spoken of just as they are, and which lose their grace and force if they are disguised." St. Cyran had often spoken to him about education, and finally employed him in that task, for which (he said) "great patience, great discretion, constant attention are required." He used to say that good education is the one thing needful, for all else depends on that; parents will be judged especially on that point of their duty. He used to mention the example of the Son of God inviting children to approach, taking them in his arms and saying lofty things about their privileges. Good example, he insisted, is the foundation of all good education. Occasionally, when they were together, if no subject of conversation presented itself, he would open a Bible and read a chapter to Lancelot. His constant maxim was never to abandon a good work once begun. He practised continual recollection, a spirit of constant looking for God's guidance; yet he preferred that we should go by the ordinary way of the Gospel, not seeking for visions, marvels, or extraordinary

practices. He said that the High Priest's privilege of finding sensible guidance in the "Urim" was not comparable to the illumination of Christians whom God teaches by His Spirit, for the soul that is faithful to God will not fail to find Him faithful too.

"Prayer should be made at stated times, yet without any strain of mind : it is a good kind of prayer just to expose our needs and frailties to God and ask Him to look on us, and it is often well to use some book such as the Gospels or the Psalms to assist our thoughts. The best prayer of all is the Canonical Office of the Church. It is an excellent practice (here he agrees with William Law) not only to say but to sing Psalms in commemoration of special mercies. Though all Scripture is to be honoured, yet the Holy Gospels are better than the rest, even than the incomparable St. Paul. The best way of reading Scripture is to read it very simply, applying to oneself the truths one finds there. God makes three sorts of provision for our souls, viz. Christ's Body in the Eucharist, Christ's words in the Gospels, the Holy Spirit that comes to dwell in faithful hearts."

Of St. Cyran himself, Lancelot says :

"He was liberal to the poor, good to his servants, generous to the subjects of his abbey ; he showed tenderness to children, treated even the humblest persons with courtesy. It was easy to accost him, his manner was grave but kind, his conversation all full of charity, he behaved at Mass with inexpressible reverence and devotion."

Of Cornelius Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, St. Cyran's friend and fellow-worker, who from his grave stirred the world, we find one very characteristic sermon : its subject is, "The Reformation of the Inner Man." It was

preached at the establishment of reform in a Benedictine monastery. He begins (according to his well-known system) with magnificent praises of man's original righteousness, its clear knowledge, untroubled joy and peace. "But, alas, man fell away from God, desiring to be his own master." Then the preacher speaks of utter ruin caused by the Fall which involved man in darkness, in pride, in liability to sensual desire. He examines the threefold temptation which besets even the regenerate—"Threefold, therefore our King who came to cure us was Himself thrice tempted—we have to resist the flesh which is the most shameful of our foes ; curiosity which is never at rest ; pride, that fierce beast of prey whose assault is the hardest to overcome." The preacher does not wish to take away hope, but to show the danger of pride and over-security.

"God's wont is to astonish His elect by difficulties, to chasten them by allowing them to fall, and thus make them understand that victory belongs to Him only ; thus they are no longer proud. In His deep wisdom God has ordained that the life of the righteous themselves should be full of trials ; exposed to so many errors, surrounded by so many snares, tossed on so many perils, racked by so many pains, such as no human prudence can foresee, no human skill or strength surmount. Who would not praise the grandeur of God's wisdom that makes all things work for our good ? Who would not trust life and death and eternity to that Divine Mercy which so carefully watches over our salvation ? Do not distrust God's love ; cure yourself of pride, so will you be able to overcome all temptations. You will find by experience that it is "God that worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure." You must love

something ; if it is love to God that burns in your heart, it will like fire consume all hindrances, it will enable you to prevail over all difficulties. There is no power so great as love of God, by which the soul shakes off the darkness of created things and rises towards the pure and calm light of eternal truth."

In M. Singlin, Port Royal preaching first had access to the public ear. Antoine Singlin was born in 1607, the son of a wine merchant, apprenticed to business, then put under the care of Vincent de Paul, who destined him for the priesthood and had him taught Latin. After his ordination he became chaplain of the Hospital de la Petié, of which his mother was the matron. Here he became acquainted with St. Cyran, who consented to his leaving the hospital because the chaplain there was so trammelled by the administrators that he could do little good. He was set first to educate some children, then to pass the summer of 1637 in retirement at Port Royal des Champs. He had left off for a while saying Mass, under a feeling of his own unworthiness, but resumed it on 10th August (St. Laurence's Day) in that year. During St. Cyran's imprisonment he had (most unwillingly) to act as director and confessor, nor did the former, on his release from Vincennes in 1643, release him from these unwilling duties in spite of his entreaties and profession of his own frailties. One day when he had been asked to preach at Port Royal de Paris, and had prepared carefully, a bishop happened to come to the chapel and the Mother asked him to preach instead. M. Singlin confessed with shame that he had felt vexed—still, he was not allowed to quit his post. On St. Cyran's death he was obliged definitely to take his vacant place. He had learned from St. Cyran two main principles :

first, to decide all questions, even the clearest and most pressing, with a certain deliberation, taking time to consider ; and secondly, a decision once come to, never to hesitate or look behind, but go forward with unflinching resolution. He taught at Port Royal for twenty-five years, but his ministrations to a general congregation fall mostly between the years 1647 and 1654. He was not a great orator, but an excellent preacher. The learning that he lacked was supplied him by M. Arnauld or M. de Sacy ; their sketch or argument of a sermon he learned by heart and reproduced, but he delivered it with a fervour that was all his own. He had the gift of so speaking that each one of the congregation believed the sermon was meant specially for himself. The six printed volumes of his “ Instructions ” give no adequate notion of his power.

In 1647 and the few following years, M. Singlin used to collect great audiences at Port Royal de Paris. Young Pierre Thomas du Fossé, as a boy of twelve or thirteen, was taken with the other scholars to Sunday vespers and sermon. Though so young at the time, he declares that he felt a certain inward compunction—indeed it was hard to escape being touched when, as one of the lads said, the preacher plunged truths deep into the hearer’s heart. Still, the boys sometimes forgot all about the sermon as soon as they left the church, for there was often on Sundays and Festivals a pitched battle going on outside between scholars and working lads of the Fauxbourg St. Germain, and those of the Fauxbourg St. Marceau ; stones flew freely, clubs were used. Often on coming out of church young Du Fossé found himself enveloped in one of these faction fights ; he confesses that it was a fearful joy to him,

though dangerous, but it quite effaced his memory of the sermon. Still worse happened another day. Leaving the church on Epiphany Eve, 1648, the boys found a regular riot in the streets; barricades were being raised, foot passengers stopped and searched. This was an anticipation of the civil war called the "Fronde," soon to begin. The boys were stopped and threatened more than once, but finally allowed to pass one barricade and then a second; at last, after various usage, they reached their dwelling and kept indoors for some days.

Another preacher in whom Port Royal delighted was Père Desmares of the Oratory. He was small in stature and of mean appearance, but in the pulpit he spoke with the boldness of an ancient prophet, telling truth to high and low; he was eloquent by nature, and his voice and gestures were in perfect accord with the truth that he was preaching. He was very familiar with St. Augustine, and used to recite whole pages by heart, not like a lesson learnt, but as the expression of his own deepest convictions. In 1648 he was suspended, and not allowed to preach again for twenty years. Young Du Fossé and a friend were one day taken, for a change, to hear a Jesuit Father at the Convent of the Visitation at Chaillot (lately founded by Queen Henrietta Maria). The boys liked the sermon.

Many notes about M. Singlin's sermons are to be found in the Mère Angélique's letters. In June 1647:

"Many come (to the temporary chapel of Port Royal) to hear him during the octave of the B. Sacrament. He has preached good sermons which have touched many during the forty days' retreat which we made to prepare for receiving the habit of the Holy Sacrament (which implied special dedi-

cation to that mystery). His instructions on that subject were admirable.”

In February 1648 :

“ It is bad news that the Queen Regent has stopped P. Desmares from preaching, though the Archbishop used often to assist at his sermons, and found no fault with them. On the Purification he preached so admirably that his enemies could not bear it and have silenced him. M. Singlin, who never preaches in parish churches, has escaped for this reason.”

In the spring of 1648 : “ M. Singlin’s sermons which were always solid have now become eloquent, to satisfy the weakness of the age.” When the new church of Port Royal de Paris was opened (June 1648) he filled it at once, and “ some one was converted every time.” His Advent sermons this year were “ marvellously crowded.” On August 28, 1649, St. Augustine’s Day, his sermon contained three points : what St. Augustine taught about penitence, about grace, about vocation to Holy Orders. The audience, including five Bishops, the Archbishop’s own brother, many Doctors, a Marshal and a Duke, were well contented with the sermon, and said that no one could speak with more wisdom and moderation, but the Archbishop, on hearsay, inhibited the preacher. Explanations passed, and the prelate rehabilitated him and came in person to assist at his first sermon after withdrawal of the suspension, New Year’s Day, 1650. But this interdiction, while it lasted, was a great trouble to Mère Angélique, though M. Singlin himself was delighted to be silent. In November 1650, in a sermon, he quoted St. Augustine as asking, “ What is a Christian ? ” and as replying, “ He who does not despise the

narrow road of the Gospel.” In that same year Mlle. Jacqueline Pascal (a good judge) remarks : “ To-day we had an admirable sermon from M. Singlin.” In July 1651 he “ preached an admirable sermon on St. Mary Magdalene’s Day, to the delight of M. de Bernières who happened to be there.” In the bitter winter of 1651–52, M. Singlin “ has so bad a cold he has hard work to speak,” yet “ the strangers (who had been received into the house for refuge during the civil war) hear his sermons with delight.” The sisters being scattered in different places on account of danger threatened to the Fauxbourg, he visits each party and repeats his sermons—indeed “ the terrible scenes of distress around seem to inspire him to speak.” After a journey into Normandy he is home again, December 1652, preaching at a sister’s profession ; in January 1653 he is “ so overwhelmed with business that he has not a moment to himself ” ; in June 1653 such crowds attend that the half have to go away. It was on December 8, 1654, that Pascal heard M. Singlin preach, with momentous results. By January 1656, Port Royal is in trouble, M. Singlin ill also, and they cannot hear him preach, but they console themselves with the thought that “ there is no virtue becoming a Christian or a religious in which he has not instructed us.”

Reading the *Entretiens* of Mère Angélique, which belong to her latest years (1652–59) and were set down without her knowledge by her clever niece, the Mère Angélique de St. Jean, we find that the daily “ Conférence ” of the sisters often turned on the sermons that they had heard ; sometimes the Epistle or Gospel for the day was discussed, and Mère Angélique would draw some plain lessons from it. So the Scripture

Lessons, or seasons of the Church, or life of some saint offered her opportunity of making a practical application. One day a sermon came under notice upon the text, "The little foxes that spoil the grapes" (Cant. ii. 25); another day a sermon upon Eph. i. 4: "God hath chosen us to be holy and without blame before Him in love." On All Saints' Day the preacher had been saying that we should perform all our actions in a spirit of faith. On All Souls' Day, M. Feydeau had been preaching on God's Holiness; this last sermon particularly pleased Mère Angélique. The preacher had said that to keep the Law of God without love was not to keep it at all; and the Mère, approving this, added that we must love God's Law in small things as well as in great. She quoted, "Lord, I have loved Thy Law," and "Teach me to run the way of Thy commandments." She mentioned also a sermon of M. Singlin where he had said that we must be in earnest, for we have to do with an enemy whom we must overcome or perish. On this sermon of M. Feydeau (but catechising was his specialty—he excelled in this) much discussion arose among the sisters.

Might not one say, though her humility would have been shocked to hear it, that Mère Angélique herself was an excellent preacher? One of her gifts was to speak forcibly and convincingly to all sorts of persons. Even to the great she spoke with extreme freedom, only with so much tact and discretion as not to offend them. She taught that the true essence of the religious life consists not in outward mortification but in continual sacrifice to God of our own self-will. What she said never discouraged her hearers, in spite of the high standard she took, for her words were so full of charity that they felt it was God who spoke by her. When she

found hearts cast down she had extreme power to fortify and console. When speaking of the mysteries of salvation it was plain that her heart was kindled by what Christ had done, as when on Maundy Thursday she bade the community think much on His words: "With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you." She spoke with awe, yet without affright, of death and judgment; her words were all of fire when she was showing that the great confidence we have in ourselves hinders our confidence in God, or that afflictions are more needful for our souls than daily food for our bodies. Her explanations of the Bible at "Conférence" were always profitable as well as instructive. However, she could not endure that any record of her words should be kept; finding one day that a sister was writing down what she had said, she burned the notes and well scolded the sister, saying that the words of the Holy Gospel were quite reading enough for anyone's conversion or edification. In her last illness we find her saying little and avoiding any action that might be noticed, but she thought much of God's Holiness and her own unworthiness, frequently asking her friends to tell her what might sustain her confidence in God, bidding them pray that God would forgive her sins. When M. Singlin (who had been dismissed by royal authority) came secretly to see her for the last time, she said: "My Father, this is the last time I shall see you, but I promise that I will not be afraid again." After this she was more at peace, and when reminded of her promise would say: "True, God's mercy is everlasting; I will hope in Him." When the Community came to her deathbed for the last time, they asked her for some instruction at a time when they were deprived of all, but she said:

“ We have instructions enough if we would use those we have received. No one can steal this treasure from us, if we keep it hidden in our heart. St. Elizabeth said on this day (2nd July), ‘ Whence is this to me ? ’ in admiration that the Lord’s Mother had come once to visit her, and ought we not to be contented when Christ Himself has visited us so often, with so many teachings and comforts ? ”

It was on this occasion she said : “ Death is a grave matter ; we should prepare for it by repenting of our lesser faults. Many faults are very visible at that hour which in health we never thought of.”

The Sister Anne-Eugénie had from childhood a love for sermons. Her mother, Mme. Arnauld, used to take her to sermons, and she would write down the substance from memory (and recollected it thirty years after). She used to say that it was the Gospel for St. Denis’ Day (Matt. xi. 25–30, according to the use of Citeaux) that first spoke to her heart and made her a new creature. The *Life of St. Theresa* also delighted her. While she was at Maubuisson with her sister, the confessor, a certain Dom Louis, sent for her to try and prove to her that an abbess had no gift to instruct her nuns, but should leave all that to the confessor. Sister Anne-Eugénie answered, quoting texts of Scripture to the purpose, that God can give gifts of illumination and instruction to women also, if it so please Him. She had a wonderful memory for anyone’s good actions and good words ; above all, she had extreme devotion and gratitude towards our Lord Jesus Christ, and was always chosen to read in the Refectory the Passion Lessons during Holy Week, because she read them in a manner so devout and touching. She was a person of extreme

gentleness and goodness, and always the same ; to see her one day was to see her all days. When in charge of scholars at Port Royal :

“ She spoke (says a former scholar) so forcibly about the Baptismal covenant and its obligations that I never forgot it. When she had to explain some Gospel text, she prepared us to listen, and said it several times, a few words at a time. Talking to a girl after her first communion she said that she always taught those who made their first communion a terrible text, that verse about the seven evil spirits coming back worse than before into the vacant heart.”

When she was on her deathbed many sisters asked her counsel about their souls ; she always welcomed them cordially, even in the midst of her greatest infirmities, and answered them with sincerity and clearness, generally pausing awhile before she gave an answer. On her deathbed it was a great trouble to her that she could not keep awake even for so important an action, but her sister, the Mère Angélique, comforted her, saying that our Lord Jesus Christ would take care of her soul when she could not attend to it herself.

The spring of 1661 was a gloomy time for Port Royal. The éclat of the two saving marvels of 1656, the miracle of the Holy Thorn and (in another order) the marvel of the “ Provinciales,” had now become dim. Constraint by royal authority waxed harsher. Cardinal Mazarin (in pursuance of his constant maxim, never thoroughly to crush a defeated cause) had declined to push Port Royal to extremity, but he was dead (March 1661). The schoolboys of the Petites Écoles had all been finally dispersed. In that year Mère Angélique was dying,

Pascal not far from his end, confessors and solitaries were exiled, schoolgirls sent home—with all these troubles either come or impending, we yet find that our friends took great pleasure in a Lent course of that year. It so happened that the greatest of all preachers was preaching close by in the chapel of the Carmelite nuns in the Rue St. Jacques.¹ Bossuet is here in his favourite pulpit (often occupied by him during thirty years) and at the full height of his splendid eloquence. M. Gandar in his charming book, *Bossuet orateur*, has established the order and material of this course of sermons, the *Carême des Carmélites*. These sermons were applauded by all sorts of hearers, from the Queen-mother downwards, and are indeed of inimitable majesty. “Amongst other hearers” (says Le Dieu) “this course was closely followed by MM. de Port Royal, stationed at every corner of the auditory and readiest of all to stir up applause.” No doubt this particularity came to Le Dieu from Bossuet himself (whose secretary he was in far later years); it would seem that the preacher had taken particular notice of the applause of the Port Royalists—but who were they? Only the name of De la Lane is mentioned; some of the notable Port Royalists hardly dared to show themselves abroad in those dangerous days; it is possible that Pascal may have been in the congregation—we know that in his decaying health he yet frequented churches and services when he was fit for nothing else. M. Gandar loves to think that Pascal was there; if he was, the sermons must have been much to his mind—

¹ The later fortunes of this church are noticed by M. Pisani (*L'Eglise de Paris et la Révolution*). It was sold under the Terror, but bought back by the Carmelites after the Revolution and used by them till 1906; it has now been partially demolished.

to hear such a preacher on topics such as penitence, the necessity of suffering, the Word of God, the hatred of man for Truth, the Lord's Passion and Resurrection, must have been amongst the latest joys of his suffering life. These sermons are (says M. Gandar) thrown very rapidly on paper; sometimes the sentences are unfinished—no doubt in the actual delivery they were completed or modified with the orator's unfailing facility—but even as they are they give Bossuet at his very best. We may summarise a few sentences from this course which must have delighted his Port Royal listeners :

“On the Word of God: do not think that preachers ascend the pulpit to make a fine discourse or that hearers come to be diverted—far from it. The preacher celebrates a mystery not unlike the Holy Eucharist. As truly Christ's Body is in the Sacrament, so is His Truth in the preaching of the Gospel. In the Eucharist you see but a sign beneath which is concealed Christ's own Body: so in holy teachings the words are but signs, but the thought that produces the words and the lesson that the words leave in your heart is Christ's own doctrine. Assist at preaching as you would approach the Holy Table, fearing to let drop one crumb of sacred truth: show by your life that you have been taught and nourished in Christ's school. For here is another parallel between the Eucharist and the Word of God: the spiritual food of sacred truth judges those whom it does not convert, it condemns those who discern it not.”

Speaking of the respect due to Truth, the preacher blames false subtleties and dangerous accommodations. He sends doubtful consciences to two excellent doctors

who know well how to settle points of duty : one is simplicity, the other is good faith. Few are the questions which those two wise guides are not able to resolve.

In the Palm Sunday sermon on the Passion he takes for his text : “ Let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus.” He regards Calvary with its three crosses as the school of patience. Christ Himself suffers there with patience, crowns him who suffers patiently, condemns the opposite. Christ suffering is a living law and animated rule for the believer. He teaches there that the way of the Cross is the only way of salvation.

In the Good Friday sermon on the Passion, Christ’s Cross is regarded as an open book, wherein is written all the economy of salvation, wherein is to be found an infallible standard of judgment and of action. Here a Christian learns to despise this world’s good things and the deceiving promises of earthly honour ; here he learns that there is nothing more precious than the human soul made in God’s image and redeemed by Christ’s Blood.

Scattered throughout this course of sermons are admirable thoughts on such subjects as the Lord’s Transfiguration, His Death, His Victory ; on a preacher’s duty ; on the claims of Truth ; on the mystery of suffering ; on true conversion ; also, a wonderful choice of Scripture texts and histories—in short, all means, all illustrations, all arguments that a Christian preacher can use to teach, to interest, to influence. Like Port Royal, Bossuet drew his material from Scripture and the Fathers ; he delighted especially in the Psalms and the Gospels ; St. Paul and St. Augustine were his chosen interpreters of Truth. But Bossuet differed from Port

Royal on one important point ; when the Church had pronounced Jansenius to be a heretic, he thought that there was no more to be said, and that submission was a prime duty, whereas Port Royal could not bear to allow that a holy bishop who was a great teacher of grace and lifelong friend of their dear St. Cyran had erred concerning the faith. This was one great difference. Bossuet blamed their refusal to submit and sign : he thought that they broke the majestic uniformity of the Church ; in his last days he condemned the luckless *cas de conscience* which made a silence of respect without consent suffice. In other points his sympathy with the principles and objects of Port Royal was real ; he had both friendships and dislikes in common with them. It is true that in an early sermon he had blamed “ rigid Doctors who make virtue burdensome, the Gospel unreasonable, Christianity impossible ” ; but his blame in later days was all for the other extreme.

In the midst of the persecution (June 28, 1665), four years after the above course of sermons, Bossuet was taken to Port Royal by the Archbishop ; he came with the intention of calming and persuading to obedience, but made no general exhortation. He visited in another convent the Mère Agnès and a sister imprisoned with her ; he was full of sympathy and advice. When peaceful days returned, Bossuet joined in consultation with Port Royal how to improve the translation of the New Testament or the *Réflexions Morales* of Quesnel. When he appears in the history of Port Royal it is as a friend. While on the topic of sermons we may note that Bossuet in administering Confirmation always made a simple homely sermon with it.

During those sad days of persecution (1665-69),

what have we to record about sermons ? “Inter arma silent praedicationes.” M. de St. Marthe had been employed by M. Singlin to assist him in spiritual work, especially at the convent of Les Champs. He ministered there between 1656 and 1679, when he was obliged finally to retire. He said he had not the gift of preaching, but that was his own estimate. Certainly he was a person of great holiness and wisdom. He represented amongst Jansenists the party of peace and of moderation ; his method and counsel was to oppose to all storms nothing but invincible humility and patience. He was the intimate friend and confessor of Pascal ; his *Spiritual Letters* are full of admirable thoughts on such subjects as the virtue of suffering and the soul’s inward life. He says himself, speaking of his sermons to the sisters, that he has always taught them the common truths of religion and has avoided all controversies of the day. In the days when they were forbidden all spiritual consolation he used to come, at great risk, to the outside of the garden wall on a winter night (probably in 1667), get up into a tree, and from that slippery elevation make a consoling discourse to the poor sisters listening from the garden within. After the peace of the Church had been established in 1669, he continued to minister (under M. de Sacy) till the final expulsion of friends in 1679. The dearth of sermons during the dark years was also sometimes supplied by pious tracts which M. Hamon, the doctor, a devout mystic, used to compose and circulate. While in captivity at a convent of the Visitation the Sœur Briquet declined to listen to Jesuit sermons, but occupied herself with pious books instead.

During the last brief respite of Port Royal (1669–79), an autumn brightness soon to pass into winter,

we find but few notices of sermons. Mme. de Longueville, that Princess-penitent who, while she lived, protected Port Royal effectually, heard M. le Tourneux preach there. M. de Saci and M. de St. Marthe officiated ordinarily. A long-exiled friend of old days, M. Feydeau, preached the Advent sermon in 1676. M. Floriot had been instructing the domestics, and out of his instructions published an excellent volume on the Lord's Prayer. "The holy domestics" fill their own place at Port Royal, where no one was forgotten. They were drawn from all parts of France, often quite young men who were brought together by a common desire to serve God in a stricter life; many touching traits of their devotion are recorded.

A wedding sermon of this time is preserved to us: it was preached early in 1677 by Antoine Arnauld himself, at the Church of St. Severin at Paris, at the wedding of Augustin Thomas, surnamed De Bosroger (younger brother of Pierre Thomas du Fossé), to Catherine Agnès le Maître, grandniece of the preacher.

"It is a great consolation to me (he began) now that I have to speak for the first time of what St. Paul calls a great mystery, that I speak to persons whom God has already so well instructed. For I know, and rejoice to know, that it is neither flesh and blood, nor the prospect of temporal gain, nor any other human consideration, but only a desire to follow God's will and lead a truly Christian life that joins you in this holy bond. As St. Paul wrote to the Thessalonians that they needed not instruction in brotherly love, being already 'taught of God,' so I say to you about married love: God has spoken to your hearts by His Holy Spirit, spoken that word which is heard within, and which inspires love at

the same time as knowledge, discovering what God demands of us and also making us delight to fulfil it. You are going with St. Paul to seek the model of the virtues of the married state, the foundation of the duties of the married state, in Christ's own ineffable union with His Church. Consider what the Apostle says as to the dignity of marriage under the new Law: it is after the pattern of the Incarnation which is the *chef-d'œuvre* of Divine Wisdom and Love. How could God's infinite Wisdom and tender Love be better seen than in that mystery where He not only pardons sinners but contracts with mankind the closest and most tender alliance? Christians marry 'in the Lord' (as the Apostle says), and must never forget that their marriage is after the pattern of Christ's own union with His Church; thus they will treat a thing so holy in a spirit of holiness, remembering St. Paul's advice, 'Let every one of you learn to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour,' and being confident that God will give them the necessary help to live worthily of their holy calling. Christian marriage is not an empty form as are ceremonies of the ancient law; for Christ joins His grace to it, rendering it more tender as well as more lasting (for nought but death can sever it). He Himself assisted at a wedding and changed water into wine, that is, the weakness of the flesh into the strength of His Spirit. The duties of the married state are, according to the lofty pattern set before us by the Apostle, 'Let wives be subject to their own husbands as the Church is to Christ'; 'Let husbands love their wives even as Christ also loved the Church and gave Himself for it.' Could he have marked in a more touching manner that the mutual love of spouses should be holy and spiritual,

directed towards their salvation, as is Christ's own love for His Church ? They should indeed love one another, but in God and for God ; so too should they love the relations whom they acquire by this common bond, and their children above all who are the end and fruit of marriage. They should bear in mind the words of Tobias : ' O God, I have taken this my sister not for lust, but uprightly.' They should say : ' I have taken wife or husband to have a posterity who shall praise Thee for ever ; to give children to God, members to Christ, holy lives to the Church.'

" But, to accomplish this end, father and mother must above all things desire to bring up their children as true Christians ; this should be the end of their education, their studies, their preparation for a calling or condition. Indeed, this responsibility is great and serious. I began by expressing my joy in you, I conclude by expressing my fears for you : it is possible to enter holily into a holy state, and yet not to persevere in the same spirit. To have had a good calling is not enough, fresh grace is needed to persevere in it. The more favours God gives the more responsibility they imply ; only in the other world shall we be in perfect confidence : this life is a place of temptation and of combat, where ' we must work out our salvation with fear and trembling.' Still, to encourage you, I will say this : you may draw confidence from finding yourselves in the dispositions which God has given you. They are an effect and a sign of His eternal Love for you, and on this Love depends your salvation. Because He loves you, God has given you His grace, and with the same grace He will complete His work. He loves you in order that you may love Him both in time and in eternity. Live in this hope, strengthen your

humble confidence in His mercy by acts of devotion, and by the practice of good works. Do not doubt but that you will reap their fruit in heaven. This is what I desire for you and what I am going to ask of God for you by presenting to Him that Saving Victim by whom alone we have access to His Throne and obtain what is needful for our salvation."

All Port Royal is in this sermon : St. Paul the counsellor, Divine Grace the support and stay, a spirit of awe yet of unfailing trust, the Holy Eucharist as the effectual presentation of Christ's all-prevailing Sacrifice.

In 1679, Mme. de Longueville being dead, the King proclaimed his irrevocable determination to finish with Port Royal. Under royal orders Archbishop de Harlai forbade (May 1679) any more sisters to be professed ; removed, finally and for good, novices, postulants, schoolgirls, confessors and solitaries, and began a thirty years' blockade whence there was no escape. One passing gleam of light appears at the outset of these evil days in the ministrations of M. le Tourneux ; of all strictly Port Royal preachers he was the most eloquent, though he ministered there for little more than one troubled year. Born at Rouen in 1640, of poor working-class people, he showed exceptional talent in his childish days : he loved to listen to preachers, and would repeat word for word what he had heard ; he was often placed on a chair, and preached to a nursery audience with amazing facility and confidence. M. Thomas du Fossé the elder had had some money left him by a relation on purpose to bring up young scholars who had no resources of their own ; out of this fund he defrayed Le Tourneux' education. After a while he was sent to Paris and put at a Jesuit college. There he was chosen as comrade and

class-fellow to dispute in rhetoric with young Le Tellier, future Marquis de Louvois ; from thence he went to study philosophy at the Collège des Grassins. After the completion of his studies he lived for a while with a good priest in Touraine, then returned to his native city of Rouen and sought Holy Orders. His catechising was so admired that the Grand Vicars of the Archbishop pressed him to be ordained priest at the age of twenty-two, and obtained for him the necessary dispensations. He became curate of a parish in Rouen, and here his sermons not only edified his own parish but drew crowds from outside. His style was extremely simple, and yet did not lack dignity ; he showed perfect mastery of Holy Scripture. One sermon of his, preached in 1669, young Pierre Thomas du Fossé heard and remembered vividly thirty years after. The preacher said :

“ How great is our blindness that we cannot see what alone gives true happiness and satisfies the heart’s desire—how strangely the fascinations of this life bewitch our soul and hinder us from seeking God—how deluding is self-love which binds us firmly to earth while we vainly call ourselves ‘citizens of heaven.’ If you had the choice given you to live always on this earth in grandeur, riches and prosperity, but on this condition, never to see God, never to obtain Him who is the supreme good, how many of you would choose that false felicity and reject eternal life ? Can it be said of those who would make such a choice that they love God with heart and mind and soul and strength, as they are bound to do ? ”

After working in Rouen for about seven years, M. le Tourneux gave up his curacy in 1669 owing to compunc-

tion of mind at having entered Holy Orders too hastily, and retired to Paris, where he lived for a while in great retirement. Here he devoted himself to study and to preparation of his admirable religious books (for he exercised an apostolate of the pen). In 1671 he became chaplain of the Collège des Grassins, where he had been educated, and preached to the boys on Sundays ; but very soon others came to listen, amongst them M. le Vayer, a great lawyer, who persuaded Le Tourneux to leave the college and settle in his house, where he would have time to write. M. le Vayer was *marguillier* (or churchwarden) of the Church of St. Benoist in the Rue St. Jacques, and persuaded him to preach there the Lent sermons of 1682, in the place of Père Quesnel, who had been obliged to go into concealment. Le Tourneux had been in October 1681 permitted, by special toleration of the Archbishop, to act as confessor of Port Royal des Champs, now under the shadow of royal and episcopal disfavour. His arrival as confessor was thought quite too good news to be true, but he was upheld for a while by very powerful friends, the sons of the Chancellor le Tellier (the Marquis de Louvois and the Archbishop of Rheims), who had been his companions at college. Mère Angélique de St. Jean, then abbess, writing to the Archbishop of Paris on Easter Day 1682, pleads most earnestly that M. le Tourneux may be allowed to remain as confessor, for the sisters had all taken confidence in him, and she expresses a hope that the Archbishop's approval of their confessor's Lent sermons might be an augury of better times for themselves. When he first appeared in the pulpit at St. Benoist his homeliness of manner and appearance made the church officials expect nothing but empty chairs, but no sooner had he preached one sermon than hearers over-

flowed from every side. The King heard of his sermons, and asked Boileau who this preacher might be whom everyone went to hear. "Your Majesty knows," said the poet, "that novelties attract; here is a preacher who actually preaches the Gospel." The King, making further inquiries, his interlocutor said: "When he enters the pulpit he looks so hideous we wish him to come down, but no sooner has he begun than we dread his leaving off." M. le Tourneux had gained prizes from the Academy in 1671 and 1677 for elaborate written discourses on a given subject, but in the pulpit he put aside written sermons (a rare thing to do in those days) and preached out of the fulness of his heart. On the day that the Gospel of Dives and Lazarus was read (Thursday in the second week in Lent) he spoke so movingly against luxury and waste that his hearers determined to sell their superfluous ornaments for charity. One day, when the quarrels of footmen outside the church who were waiting for their master or mistress made such a noise as to interrupt the preacher, he said, when the noise had abated:

"It is God, my brethren, Who speaks to you on this occasion and reminds you of your duty to your servants. It is an unfair division for you to nourish yourselves with God's Word and suffer your household meanwhile to offend God by riotous behaviour. Bring with you to church those attendants only who are absolutely indispensable, and take care that they not only wait outside a church but themselves hear sermons and profit by them. God would have your household Christians as well as yourselves, nay, if they are not, how can you call yourselves so?"

After this digression he resumed his discourse where he had broken off. His last sermon of the course was delivered on the Festival of the Annunciation (transposed for that year to Low Sunday). He ended thus :

“ We hear to-day how Gabriel took to the Holy Virgin the news of the mystery of the Incarnation, and, after he had obtained her consent to God’s will for her, he retired to heaven and was seen no more. So evangelical preachers aim at forming Christ in the heart of their hearers, and when their work is done they retire to converse with God in prayer after having so long spoken for Him in the pulpit. We should have spoken in vain and you would have listened in vain unless Christ had been formed in your heart and you yourselves had begun to live with His new life so as to be able to say with the Apostle, ‘ It is no longer I that live, but Christ, that lives in me and makes me walk in newness of life.’ ”

Mme. de Sévigné, writing in 1685 (three years later), and thinking of this course of sermons, recalls “ the apostolic simplicity of M. le Tourneux ” ; and the name of *prédicateur de St. Benoist* stuck to him. But this great success in the pulpit roused up great jealousy, as M. de Saci had foreseen. He had earnestly recommended M. le Tourneux to avoid all appearances in public and to keep himself for ministrations to souls in private and by his books, but this one occasion he had not been able to avoid. He was never again heard in the pulpit, nor was he allowed to continue as confessor at Port Royal after October 1682. He gave way to his enemies, and retired to the Priory of Villiers in Picardy, where he lived a life of extreme self-denial and prayer, only surrounding

himself with some young men whom he was training for the priesthood. Meanwhile he still wrote and published, but the Papal Nuncio prohibited the sale of his great work the *Année Chrétienne*, because it contained a translation into French of the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass. In May 1686 the Archbishop's secretary sent M. le Tourneux a memorandum of the complaints that the Archbishop had against him : it is written in the third person and in a high and haughty tone. The Archbishop reminds him that he has been allowed (a great mark of confidence) to go to Port Royal, and is much displeased that after leaving he had returned there secretly. The Archbishop had supported his sermons at St. Benoist, and even allowed him to preach on some other occasions. When he retired to his Priory he had promised the Archbishop that he would not preach anywhere, and yet he had done so. The Bishop of Soissons had complained of this breach of promise, and thus had caused the small pension to be withdrawn which he had from the Crown. Moreover he has had intercourse with suspected persons, and when he came to Paris had shown himself in public places, as he had been cautioned not to do. He may continue to write books so long as he puts no novelties in them. Let him follow M. Nicole's counsels, instead of listening to less discreet persons. M. le Tourneux replies at once, with humble thanks for the admonition ; he defends himself simply, saying he had never once returned to Port Royal (either openly or secretly) after his engagement there was over ; he has never once preached in Paris after the *carême* at St. Benoist was over, with the sole exception of one address given in a private house, about which he had consulted the Archbishop beforehand, and had prefixed to his discourse the remarks

which the Archbishop had prescribed. Since he had been back in his Priory he had preached nowhere. What the Bishop of Soissons complained of was not that he preached, but that he was not allowed to preach. He had no intercourse with anyone, except what necessity and charity prescribed ; he did not remember that at his last visit to Paris he had been cautioned not to show himself in public. The Archbishop will remember that he has always professed himself willing to catechise in the smallest parish of the diocese : he is indeed an unprofitable servant, and thinks of himself no otherwise. He sets high value on the advice of Nicole and is always ready to follow it ; he has avoided any kind of party speeches or combinations.

He came to Paris in November 1686 to see the Archbishop about the prohibition of the *Année Chrétienne*, and died there suddenly of apoplexy, being found speechless when called at 7 A.M. on 28th November ; he died the same afternoon, without regaining consciousness.

In M. le Tourneux' little book, *The Life of our Lord Jesus Christ* (it gives the substance of Christ's words and acts, with a brief explanation), there are many thoughts useful for sermons. The Preface tells the tale of the Fall and its consequences as being the reason of Christ's coming on earth to save us. Man was formed in God's image, with high and glorious faculties, but by sin fell into the darkness of ignorance, inclination to evil, passions and troubles of mind, need, pain and distress, liability to death and to everlasting loss. To remedy our evils the Son of God took on Himself all man's weaknesses and miseries, except only ignorance and sin. In order that we might again discern God it was needful for God to turn to us, show Himself to our eyes, place

Himself amongst the visible things which claimed all our attention. He did not content Himself with dying for our sins, but also lived on earth such a life as we could take for our model, whereby to reform our life—all that we are told of His life on earth is designed for our salvation.

A little book of piety by the same author (he wrote many more) was called *The Best Manner of hearing Holy Mass*. He says that the best way of hearing Mass is to follow the priest in all that he says and does: the purpose of the Church has always been to offer Mass as the common sacrifice of believers in which all take part. The author desires to awaken the worshipper's intelligence and make him comprehend the meaning of all that is said and done at the altar. He suggests simple thoughts and prayers towards this end for use at each part of the service.

We are often told that the Church of Rome knows how to use all various talents, and that that is where we fail in the Church of England. What shall we say of this great preacher and admirable expounder of Scripture, silenced, his talents stifled in obscurity, his works anathematised? His purpose was by word and writing to make the faithful participate with intelligence in all Christian teaching and worship. But a powerful party could not bear that reason should have any part in sacred things—that Scripture or prayer or rite should be made intelligible to the people. A religion of the feelings and of the senses triumphed.

We may note, as belonging to the same time as M. le Tourneux' last years, M. de Saci's last sermon, delivered the day before his death, January 5, 1684, on the subject of St. Geneviève and the profit of observing saints' days,

when (says Fontaine) “ he spoke of the things of faith as if he saw them.” Also we must not forget Du Guet’s famous expositions of Holy Scripture given at the seminary of St. Magloire at Paris in the years immediately preceding 1685 (when he, like other Oratorians of pronounced Jansenist sympathies, had to go into retirement). His object was to make all parts of Scripture serve to illustrate Christian doctrine. Out of these expositions his thirty volumes of commentary grew. Who ever dealt more admirably than he with Genesis, or with the Psalter, or with the history of Christ’s Passion ?

Pierre Thomas du Fossé (the memoir-writer) had the *goût des voyages*, and took a journey every summer. In 1691 he, with his brother and brother’s wife (whose marriage sermon we noticed above), and their son of ten years old, was travelling in Central France. They got to Amboise on 7th September, Eve of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. On the Festival they passed all the morning at the church, where Matins were solemnly sung, and then High Mass. Du Fossé went to confession, and found the priest “ an honest man and charitable pastor.” As they were sitting down to dinner they heard the Abbé Gaillard, whom they knew, was holding a mission in the town, and would preach that afternoon. He was called “ Abbé ” but was not in Orders, having only the tonsure and ecclesiastical dress, but he had a good income and a heart full of charity. He was often employed by bishops to preach and catechise, and wherever he was preaching a mission he used to bring a physician with him and set up a small field hospital of eight or ten beds to relieve the sick poor. When the time for sermon came, the preacher took a text of the Gospel and explained it literally, then applied it to his

hearers, all with clearness, facility, and surprising brevity. His custom was at the beginning of a sermon to tell his audience that he meant to be very brief, and therefore if they were inattentive or dropped off to sleep they would miss the whole sermon. This preamble always excited attention. Indeed, though he was expected to be brief, still he exceeded expectation and ended so abruptly as to leave his hearers regretting that he had finished, “whereas” (says Du Fossé) “weariness rather than regret is the general disposition of those who hear a sermon to its end.” The preacher took the travellers to see his dispensary and temporary hospital, which pleased them much; then they resumed their journey and got to Tours the same night.

But it is time to bring these scattered notes on Port Royal preaching to a close. We will inter the subject with a funeral discourse. Racine was buried at Port Royal, next to the grave of M. Hamon (according to his own express desire), on April 23, 1699. The priest from St. Sulpice who accompanied the body said a few words. M. Eustace, the confessor of the house, replied that it was right that the illustrious dead should have willed to be buried there where he had received the first seeds of that Religion and Truth which he had loved. He added a few words on the storm that had fallen on the holy house and dispersed its friends. As for the dead, briars and thorns had for a while choked the good seed sown in his heart, but as he was (we humbly trust) one of those plants which our heavenly Father had planted and which cannot be rooted up, Truth had again resumed its hold on him, and brought forth fruit in good season. The speaker alluded further (not to Racine’s genius and glory, but) to his piety, his patience throughout his long

illness, his friendship for Port Royal (of which he never was ashamed, even in the King's presence), and the gratitude of Port Royal for all his services.

We began by comparing the objects and methods of this movement with those of Tractarianism. That, like Port Royal, was overthrown for the time by charges of bishops and anathemas of theologians, but survived in new forms. That, too, drew its inspiration from great preachers—such and such a sermon marked a stage in the movement. But the pulpit of Port Royal never rang so widely as the pulpit of St. Mary's at Oxford, nor did any Port Royal preacher vie with his subtlety to whom his poet friend wrote :

“So ample and so keen, so quickly wrought
The evolutions of thy lightning thought,
That thine own feet were tangled in the net
Intended for the foe in conflict met.”

Still, for those who care to look for them, there are these resemblances, and more than these.

A STUDY OF THE MERE ANGÉLIQUE

Extract from "The Guardian," October 25, 1899

CIRCUMSTANCES have led me to devote much attention to that form of Christian thought known as Jansenism, which appeared in France and the Low Countries in the seventeenth century. Great characters, great subjects abound in it. I desire to offer to-day a study of the reformatress of Port Royal, the Mère Marie Angélique Arnauld (1591-1661). I take for granted in my readers a knowledge of the main facts of the controversy and most notable names of the party, such as Cornelius Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres (died 1638), who left behind him in vigorous Latin the celebrated book, *Augustinus*, anathematised by Pope after Pope, which contains not only a summary of the Doctor of Grace, but a passionate onslaught on scholastic theology as being a science of the head, not the heart; Jean du Verger de Hauranne, Abbé de St. Cyran (died 1643), whose marvellous genius, refined by persecution, comes out rather in his spoken words of counsel than in his writings; he had the power of inspiring hearts with spiritual life; true contrition, fervent self-sacrifice, attachment to primitive truth, sprang up wherever he was known; Blaise Pascal, who combined in a superlative degree these three gifts—penetrating genius, intense earnestness, the art of

perfect expression ; Antoine Arnauld, whose long life was spent amidst the dust of controversy, but who yet remained simple and tender-hearted, best pleased when he was teaching a boy to read, or ministering to the souls of children ; Antoine le Maître, who gave up the foremost position at the Paris bar to cultivate the garden of Port Royal and teach Latin to the boys in the school ; Isaac le Maître de Saci, who in prison or in hiding was content if he had but opportunity to study the Bible. I do not here mention the great figures of the second generation of Port Royal, such as Quesnel, Tillemont, Du Guet, or M. le Tourneux who in devotional treatment of Holy Scripture excels all writers that I have ever seen, ancient or modern ; nor the great ladies, such as the Princesse de Longueville, or the Princesse de Conti, who cast over Port Royal the shelter of their favour ; nor the solitaries, scholars, soldiers, teachers, who studied, taught, and prayed there ; nor, again, the Jansenists of humble life, servants, workmen, farm labourers, who sanctified their toil by an ascetic life, prayer, study of the New Testament ; nor do I draw from their sacred obscurity the Sisters of Port Royal des Champs or Port Royal de Paris (which formed but one community up to 1669), though the women of Port Royal are in character and ability nowise inferior to the men. I dwell to-day on the Mère Angélique only, whose long life, position of authority, strength of character, varied experience, set her apart as the spiritual mother of the whole society.

I will not linger over the well-known features of her life, how by her grandfather's influence she was made in childhood abbess of the Cistercian house of Port

Royal, near Versailles ; how she was converted to serious thoughts ; her efforts at reform within her own convent or outside (for she was not to reform other convents) ; her settlement with her nuns in Paris, leaving desolate the ancient abbey, though she returned to it later ; how she laid down her abbatial dignity, but was elected to it again and again ; the spiritual guides under whom she came ; her loyalty to the memory of Jansenius, which brought upon her the hostility of Pope and King ; the implacable enmity which the Jesuits bore to her and her friends ; her last days, when confessors, novices, scholars, were expelled by royal authority and imminent destruction threatened her convent.

In her life, at first sight, I find most of the usual features of hagiology. The Mère's horizon and surroundings are wholly conventual ; she moves between the community at Les Champs and that at Paris a few miles off. For a few years she is acting abbess at Maubuisson, or pays rare visits to other convents. Clerical influence is paramount in her life : first that of monks or friars ; then (for some transient visits and letters) the polished and gracious spell of St. François de Sales ; afterwards the fantastic and exaggerated spirituality of Mgr. Zamet, Bishop of Langres ; then the sceptre passes to the ideal director, the Abbé de St. Cyran. When he is removed M. Singlin and other worthy confessors administer the principles that he has laid down. The Mère Angélique, one would say at first sight, was of the usual type of holy women whose biographies fill the shelves of convent libraries. For example, she cordially recommends and practises devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Louis, St. Charles, St. Theresa, St. Antony, St. Bernard, or other patron saints, yet all

the time longing to get the lives of the saints freed from false legends. She sends to her friends holy medals, relics, images, chaplets, things that have touched the Holy Thorn, or the true Cross, or the bones of a saint. She has undertaken, at Mgr. Zamet's suggestion, to show a peculiar devotion to the Sacrament of the Altar, keeps up perpetual assistance before it, holds that the Lord is waiting there to receive the requests we make, delights in being vowed to the service and honour of that Sacrament "wherein," she says, "Calvary is daily represented afresh." She insists upon constant reference to a director's advice, practises every kind of mortification, reintroduces into the convent all the austerities of the rule of St. Benedict, magnifies the monastic life high above the secular. She becomes surrounded in her latter days by miracles, real or supposed, though not at all of her own seeking. She herself is thought to receive miracles in answer to prayer; pieces of silver left in her pocket turn out, in extreme necessity, to be gold; unwholesome dough, through her prayers, bakes into capital bread. The Divine Office is her delight; she restores the commencement of it to 1 A.M. daily; she labours, wherever she may be, to have it sung devoutly and performed with punctilious care. She has 6,666 Paters said in honour of the Sacred Wounds, or 50,000 Glorias in thanksgiving for a mercy received. She has the greatest horror of heretics or schismatics, Calvinistic, Lutheran, Oriental, Greek—to her they are all enemies of God and of His Church, deserve nothing but defeat here and damnation hereafter. She listens with eager credulity to scandals about Queen Elizabeth or stories of the happy dispositions of the exiled Charles II.

What, it will be said, is this seventy years' career nothing but the life of a Romish saint; shall we find the secret of the Mère Angélique's influence in the severity of her penances, the ecstasy of her devotions, her entire abnegation of possessions, comforts, freedom of action? Is she only a second St. Elizabeth of Hungary, an example of absolute submission to directors, of victory over the natural reason and affections? No, in nowise. The Mère Angélique, indeed, performed outwardly all the duties of a Cistercian Abbess or a Sister of the Perpetual Adoration, but (strange as it may seem) she performed them in a new spirit, with accompaniments of evangelical faith, entire conversion, heartfelt trust in Christ's merits, constant recourse to Holy Scripture, tender regard for the voice of conscience. The true spell of Port Royal, the understanding of what Port Royal meant to its friends, lies here—not in the monastic exterior, but in the underlying fervour and depth of faith. Let me recapitulate the features in her character which those who have lived with her all her life had noted down.

1. They were amazed, first of all, at her absolute disinterestedness. She used to say that the fault of many religious communities, otherwise austere and upright, was covetousness. Such communities sought to increase their wealth, to have rich gifts made to them, to raise splendid churches and rich altars; to receive sisters who would bring property to the Order. The Mère Angélique's spirit was far otherwise. She used to say that in receiving applicants for admission, the one thing to inquire for was the sign of a real vocation—as for their support, God's providence would take care of that. Innumerable instances of her generosity are

recorded. She was very averse to property being taken away from relations and given to the convent, or to the relations having charges imposed on them in return for a sister's reception. She always hated bargaining about a sister's dowry; if the relations made any difficulty, the sister was invariably received as she was, and no more said. When the convent farm was burnt down, with all the hay, some sheep and cows, five horses, and all the linen that was at the wash, all she said was, "Thank God there are no lives lost," and was quite joyful all the evening. When wolves got into the park at night, worried the sheep, killed some and dispersed the others, the Mère Angélique gladly had all the maimed sheep killed at once and cut up for the poor—there was no cottage in the neighbourhood so poor but had roast mutton that day for dinner. The Mère always took for herself the poorest, plainest, most inconvenient room, furniture or clothes, the slowest and most awkward nurses to wait on her in sickness—in fact, she used astonishing ingenuity to get the worst of everything for herself. Once, when she was ill, and in the infirmary with another sister, the latter complained that they were neglected, but the Mother only said :

"Remember how often a lady living in the world, when she is old and ill, has but one little maid to go to market for her, and must just lie quietly and wait till the maid returns."

The other sister remembered this, and used to say, if their attendants delayed long, "Mother, the little maid has gone to market to-day." That was one point which all noticed who had to do with the Mother, her absolute indifference to gain or show,

may, her extreme preference for all that was poor and mean.

2. Another excellence was her abounding care for the sick and suffering: many sisters alleged that this was her special and distinguishing grace. In the sick-room she never found any task too humble for her; would always personally attend on the most disagreeable cases; was very angry when she found sick persons neglected or their food ill prepared; used to visit the infirmary constantly and spend long hours there. Any sick person there was not room for elsewhere she put in her own room. Speaking of sufferers who come in our way who cannot be helped without some trouble to ourselves, she used to say:

“In such a case I represent to myself someone whom I love much, as my own sister Catherine (her eldest sister, Madame le Maître), whom I suppose to be lost, and I can hear no tidings of her. Then I hear that an unknown sufferer has come to the door, and I say to myself, ‘Perhaps this is my dear lost sister,’ and I run to see, and, indeed, it is a sister, though unknown, whom God is sending to me.”

The Mère Angélique appeared to take on herself all the troubles and sorrows of her friends, and imparted to them in exchange just the comfort and strength they needed. However ill she herself was, when any one of the sisters came into her room she would welcome her, and listen to all that she had to say. Her friend, the Princess Marie de Gonzague, became Queen of Poland, and used, when distress came on France, to send the Mère alms to distribute. She would devote infinite pains to administer these gifts wisely. She often urged

the Queen to deliver debtors from prison and to be exact in paying her own debts. She took a warm interest in the Queen's plans for doing good in Poland—by helping orphans, by organising hospitals, by caring for fallen women. She looked out in Paris shoemakers, tailors, and carpenters to go to Poland and teach the Queen's orphan protégés a trade ; searched out regulations for hospitals, and sent them to the Queen as a pattern ; looked out for her a chaplain who was familiar with hospital work. She herself constantly put before the sisters the sufferings of the poor as a reason for patience in their own trials. Her letters are full of references to the condition of working people groaning under heavy taxes, prevalent epidemics, bad seasons, insecurity of life and property. When people complained of the deceitfulness of the poor she used to say that the harshness of the well-to-do was the cause. Happening to hear on several occasions of poor girls who had been seduced and were afraid of telling their trouble to their friends, the Mère Angélique helped them in their hour of trial and gave them a fresh start. Sometimes she would take orphans and neglected girls into the convent to educate from their infancy. The Scotch, English, and Irish exiles who crowded to Paris in deep distress after the reverses of Charles I and Charles II excited her warmest sympathy. She took their girls into the convent school, and shed many tears over their sufferings.

3. But her most characteristic gift was her power of spiritual influence—she had singular power to convince, to enlighten, to encourage. “Her words are like fire,” says one friend. Another says, “She spoke as if she knew all our hearts ; she reproved with force,

yet never discouraged anyone." Another says, "No one was ever able to resist her words; however prejudiced they were, they had to say, 'Yes, madame, what you say is true.' " She was admirable in explaining and applying Holy Scripture. She always carried a portion of the Psalms or Gospels in French in her pocket to read at spare moments. In writing to her friends she constantly draws comfort or guidance from portions of Scripture read in church that day or that week. To great people, when occasion arose, she wrote and spoke very plainly, yet so courteously and kindly as never to wound their dignity. However, she could not endure to have her sayings written down. One day, finding that a sister had made a collection of her sayings, she threw it into the fire, and bade her never do the like again, adding that the Holy Gospels were quite enough for conversion and edification. Many of her letters to the Queen of Poland were preserved, without her knowledge, by being opened and copied by the nuns before they were put into the post, but it displeased her exceedingly when she got a hint of this. When speaking to young ladies who came to visit Port Royal she did not magnify the monastic life or try to make recruits, but talked of the duties belonging to their condition in the world. Her frequent topics in speech or writing were God's majesty and His claims on us; also the virtue of suffering; also the duty of submission to God's providence. Above all things she combated despair; bade sinners rise, humble themselves before God, try again with fresh courage. She let every sister have free access to her, listened with patience to what each had to say, had suitable counsel to give to each.

4. Again, she retained an awful sense of the great

truths of religion, the majesty of God, the nearness of death, the privileges of the Gospel, the strength of grace. Her great resource in all difficulties was prayer. "You can only have strength," she used to say, "by asking God for it;" or, again, "How to rule and guide others is a secret only to be discovered by prayer. It is there that God imparts light and grace sufficient." She said that in prayer we do not need to make great efforts of mind, but rather to remain humbly at Christ's feet, like the poor waiting at the door of the rich. She bade perplexed persons recommend all their cares to God, consult His Holy Spirit always, never rely on their own capacity or efforts. When at prayer there was something heavenly in her countenance; but she never minded interruption, nay, entreated the Sisters always to call her when she was wanted, as otherwise she should not feel at liberty to pray, for fear of causing inconvenience. She used to say that our best wisdom is to remain in great humility, acknowledging our own infirmities, listening always to others and complying with them, as far as possible, occupying ourselves peaceably with what we have to do, adoring Divine Providence in all things. She valued spiritual guides, but said, "I never put man in the place of God. It is He Who sends me comfort by them, and without them can give me all I need." She would have the soul's gaze fixed chiefly on Christ Jesus at His Father's right hand as our Mediator, in Whose electing grace we trust. At her last Communion (the day before her death) she looked up at a crucifix, and cried out, "O Jesus, O Jesus, Thou art my God, my righteousness, my strength, my all," pronouncing those words with the greatest fervour of devotion.

5. Along with all these gifts she had (what is the salt of all glorious gifts and keeps them sweet) a deep and sincere humility. She acknowledged the errors attending her entry on religion, dwelt upon her natural impatience and sharpness of speech. "I am all imperfection," she wrote to her friend, Madame de Chantal. She never spoke of anyone's faults without adding somewhat to this effect: "Indeed, I give much more reason for complaint;" or, "I have still greater need of amendment." When recommending to a friend the habit of invincible patience she adds, "Alas! I in nowise practise it." "I am much ashamed," she said one day, "when M. Singlin tells me the Sisters say they don't like telling the Mother such and such tidings for fear of vexing her." The one thing she constantly asks of her intimate friends is to pray for her that she may be truly converted. "My prayers," she wrote to Madame de Chantal, "are from the lips only, not from the heart. I have little hope or trust." "My friends," she often said, "do not know my faults, and therefore, to my great loss, neglect to pray for my conversion."

"From my childhood," she says, "I have been convinced of the truth of the Christian faith and the greatness of a Christian's calling, so that I speak of such matters readily; but I never turn my knowledge into practice."

When saying that there was a prejudice against her in Convents of the Visitation, she adds, "Indeed, I have deserved it, and a thousand times more." When recommending a friend to give more time to prayer she says, "I neglect my own prayers so much that I fear others may do the same." In giving advice she adds, "I have fallen into so many faults myself that I am well

acquainted with the snares of the enemy, and with my own frailty.” She continually insists that we do not correspond to the mercies, the light, the graces God so freely bestows. On her dying bed she said to the Community as they left her for the last time, “I entreat your prayers that God would humble my pride, give me patience, show me mercy at last.”

6. Such a character, it may be said, so rich and so genuine, belongs to the whole Church of God, and has nothing specially Jansenist about it. Indeed, in some points she is, without knowing it, in accordance with Anglican sentiments. She writes :

“Un jour il semble que tout est perdu ; un autre, tout gagné ; et puis, cela ne va pas bien du tout. Tout cela nous est très bon pour nous tenir dans l’abaissement devant Dieu et pour ne mettre notre espérance qu’en Lui seul.”

This is almost identical with the teaching of the *Christian Year* (Sixth Sunday after Epiphany) :

“For thou wouldst have us lingering still
Upon the verge of good or ill,
That on Thy guiding Hand unseen
Our undivided hearts may lean.”

Again, she writes :

“Les manquements que l’on fait envers nous, les incommodités et les infirmités des corps, jusqu’aux facheuses influences de l’air qui nous empêchent les promenades, et enfin toutes les choses qui nous fâchent, qui déplaisent à notre sens et qui contredisent notre volonté, reçues de bon cœur et offertes à Dieu en satisfaction de nos fautes, sont de très bonnes pénitences.”

And in this she coincides almost exactly with the doctrine of Bishop Wilson in his *Sacra Privata for Wednesday*. There is something Anglican in her desire that the new church of Port Royal de Paris should be built east and west, “comme il a toujours été pratiqué, mais depuis peu on a préféré la commodité à la coutume de l’Eglise.” Suitable to Anglican taste would have been the altar of Port Royal des Champs, of wood, plain but handsome, having on it nothing but a crucifix, and behind it a picture of the Last Supper. In fact, the sobriety of her religious feelings, her dislike of novelties in religion (she could not bear flowers being on the altar, saying it was a thing unheard of), her constant reference to Holy Scripture, her veneration for the Episcopate, are all in the spirit of Anglican piety. However, she would herself have been the first to disclaim emphatically any connection with us: we must not invent a sympathy where none really exists. Port Royal never meant to withdraw allegiance from Rome, or to set up a Church within a Church. They had not the independent aims of the Reformers of the preceding century. Indeed, they cared more for the spirit than for the form of worship:

“Leur ambition suprême était de retremper la morale et la foi à la source même; de retrouver dans la méditation de l’Ecriture et l’étude des Saints Pères, et surtout dans la contemplation et la prière et les pratiques austères, le christianisme des anciens jours; de remonter jusqu’au Sauveur Lui-même et de voir en Lui en quelque sorte leur véritable Directeur. Le culte extérieur, les pénitences corporelles, l’observation du silence ou le chant des offices, les prédications ou les conseils de

directeurs, n'avaient de valeur à leurs yeux qu'autant qu'ils conduisaient les âmes aux pratiques plus difficiles de la vie spirituelle et du culte intérieur."¹

Such was the spirit of Port Royal in its best examples. The Mère Angélique insists on the sovereign power of God's grace, and the need of a call from Him before undertaking any spiritual work. She depends on the Atoning Blood of Christ as shed for each soul; she is full of reverence for the suffering and poor; she takes the words of the Holy Gospel as a literal rule; she calls all this aspect of things "la vérité," and is knit in heart with all those who embrace it. This it is to be a Jansenist, but for such persons the Romanism of that day had no room. They were Christians of a fervent and exalted type, devout and Catholic, full of reverence for antiquity, devout students of Holy Scripture according to all the science known in their day; but penetrated with the conviction that a breath of life from above was needed to quicken the Church and the religious orders. Now this conviction, as M. Faugère says:

"Entraîne toujours avec elle une certaine lutte avec les choses existantes. En effet, porter en soi l'esprit de Reforme et vouloir l'appliquer hors de soi, c'est être par cela même de l'opposition."

Thus Port Royal, "tout en étant une école d'autorité et de respect," was driven into a position of resistance, and finally crushed by authorities of Church and State, yet leaving behind it immortal lessons. The extermination of this type of character created an irreparable void; when the triumphant march of unbelief began in the opening years of the eighteenth century the

¹ M. Faugère, Introduction to *Les Lettres de la Mère Agnès Arnauld* (Paris, 1858).

Church of France was powerless to meet it. Against the scoffs of Voltaire, "Il faut bien avouer que la parole fait silence," says the Abbé Perreyve, regretfully ; and whence this silence, except that the voices who could have defended truth best had been struck dumb by Papal anathema ?

There is one more question which may have arisen in my readers' minds, and it is this : How can I say that the Mère Angélique rests solely on Christ's all-sufficient merits, when she uses and values images, relics, chaplets, when she turns for help to St. Joseph, or St. Charles, or a guardian angel ? Is she not thoroughly inconsistent with herself in this ? I would refer this difficulty to the decision of a very weighty authority. A great Protestant theologian, who inherited, not the ecclesiastical position, but the moral and spiritual tone of Port Royal, occupied himself on his deathbed with this very question. In April, 1847, during his last illness, Alexandre Vinet found strength to dictate for a review a few words upon the testament of Pascal, which had just been recovered. He comes face to face with this same difficulty in Pascal's case, and his answer will do for the Mère Angélique also. Many readers (says M. Vinet) hearing Pascal in his last will "implore the intercession of the glorious Virgin Mary and all the saints in Paradise," will be scandalised, and cry out that he is inconsistent. But who is, in religion, quite consistent ? Probably no one :

"Pour ce qui est de Pascal, nous avons la ferme confiance que, tout en exprimant ici une persuasion sincère au sujet de la Vierge et des saints, il faisait reposer d'aplomb sa foi et son espérance sur l'unique et vrai fondement. Si l'on veut absolument, qu'il

y ait ici contradiction dans les termes, contradiction dans les notions même, à la bonne heure ; nous ne contesterons pas. Nous nous contentons d'être certain pour notre compte qu'il n'y avait pas contradiction dans le cœur." ¹

H. T. M.

¹ *Etudes sur Blaise Pascal*, par A. Vinet (Paris, 1848), p. 297.

DEATH-BED OF THE MÈRE ANGÉLIQUE

*Extract from St. Alban's "Monthly Paper,"
July 1900*

THE Rev. Mother, Marie Angélique de Ste. Madeleine Arnauld (1591–1661), generally called the Mère Angélique, had been called Jacqueline at Baptism, but took at her Confirmation the name of Angélique, by which she was always afterwards known.

Her friends, according to the abuses of that age, had procured for her, at nine years old, the position of Abbess of the Cistercian Convent of Port Royal des Champs, near Versailles. As she grew up she became aware of the false position in which she had been placed, and of the gravity of the charge laid upon her. She earnestly desired to get free from it, and at last succeeded in getting the place of abbess made elective, and obtaining leave to resign it. In her later life she was elected and re-elected abbess again, for four successive triennates up till 1654. She had, for what seemed at the time wise reasons, forsaken the solitude of Les Champs, and established her nuns in Paris; afterwards, the ancient convent was resettled, and the Community divided between the two houses.

After she had herself received serious impressions, she set to work to reform her Convent, and from thence

the spirit of reform spread to many other Convents of the Order ; also, many lay people of various conditions gathered round Port Royal, and shared its spirit. What was the spirit of Port Royal ? It brought home to each heart the need of true conversion, of an inward call to undertake any work for God, of entire reliance on God's sovereign grace ; it taught the worthlessness of ordinances received without love ; it held forth Holy Scripture as a guide to the unlearned. This attitude naturally became one of protest against the worldly religion of the day ; but the exact occasion of the persecution, in the midst of which the Mère died, was as follows : Jean du Verger de Hauranne, Abbé de St. Cyran, who died in 1643, had been the chief guide of the Mère Angélique and her nuns in their search for spiritual truth ; his life-long friend and associate was Cornelius Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres. The latter, on his death in 1638, had left behind him in MS. a treatise called " Augustinus," containing a systematic exposition of St. Augustine's teaching, drawn up specially to counteract the Molinist theology which the Jesuits patronized ; this was published after his death. Five propositions about grace, said to be drawn from the " Augustinus," were delated to Rome, and condemned by the Pope in 1653. He condemned them as being contained in the work of Jansenius, and intended by him ; and this condemnation was offered for signature to all clergy and religious in France. The friends of Port Royal were willing to sign the condemnation of the propositions, but were steadfast in maintaining that they were not to be found in the book by any fair system of interpretation. What made the Port Royalists so stubborn in this position really was the fact that Jansenius was the life-long friend

and fellow-worker of their venerated guide, St. Cyran, and therefore they could not endure to brand him as a heretic. The influence of the Jesuits was paramount at Court, and they got Church and State to unite in enforcing this signature.

Two great events in 1656 choked them off for a time ; one was the appearance of Pascal's *Provincial Letters* which contained a scathing assault on Jesuit teaching ; the other was the apparently miraculous cure of a girl, a niece of Pascal, in the convent school at Port Royal, followed by other marvels. But this respite was brief, and after a while the persecutors renewed their efforts. The all-powerful minister, Cardinal Mazarin, while he lived, refused to go all lengths against Port Royal ; but his death, on March 1, 1661, took away the last barrier, for the Queen-mother, Anne of Austria, and the young King Louis XIV, were entirely under Jesuit domination. The Mère Angélique, who for some time had been in daily expectation of the blow falling, heard at Les Champs on the Thursday in Easter week (April 21, 1661), that the scholars at Port Royal de Paris were to be sent home, and M. Singlin to be removed from the position of Director and Superior. This determined her to go at once to Paris, so as to be on the spot, and help in what ways she could. Accordingly, on April 23 she went from Les Champs to Paris. When she got to the Monastery there, the sisters were all in tears, for the lieutenant of Police had just been to order all the scholars off. The Mère rebuked them for crying, saying, " What is this, my children ? Tears ! Have we then no faith ? If we feared God alone, all would go well." Her words had a great power to quiet their minds and dry their tears. During the ensuing week

all the scholars were removed, the Mère herself superintending their departure with words of encouragement and consolation. She writes to the Mère du Fargis (who was Prioress at Les Champs), "All the House are in tears, and the children very miserable ; but it is God who has ordered this : let us adore His Holy Will." But she began after this to lose her power of sleeping. She said that she could make herself eat, but she could not make herself sleep, and she soon began visibly to alter for the worse, though never ceasing to perform in word or act whatever was needed. At the beginning of May, M. Singlin had to leave—this was the greatest loss the Mère could have ; all else, she said, was nothing in comparison. On the day he left, after many affairs had been talked off, she asked him to give a little time to hear her confession, as she felt she might die any day. Next, after this, the Postulants (or candidates for admission to the Sisterhood) had to be sent away. The abbess had in vain admitted them to the Novitiate at the first threatening of the storm, but the King's express orders came that they were to resume secular dress, and leave instantly. When the Duchesse de Chevreuse came to take away her two daughters, she said that she admired the Mère Angélique's courage ; but she replied, "Madame, if there were no God I should lose courage, but while God is God I shall continue to hope in Him." In bidding good-bye to one girl, she said, "My child, trust with all your heart in God's infinite mercy. You and I will meet again in that place where men will not be able to part us."

On the 10th May, the Mère tried to carry a relic of the true Cross in a procession to implore the intercession of the Saints, but she fainted, and had to be helped

back to her room. Several notes of hers to the Mère du Fargis belong to these first days of May—they all breathe a spirit of absolute submission and even joy—she takes persecution, sorrow, and pain as tokens of God's mercy, and reminders of His Son's saving Cross. "We are," she says, "exposed to the contempt of the world, and this happy condition renders us like Jesus Himself, if we accept it for love of Him." She bids her friends ask for her only this, that she may practise what she recommends to others. She repeats "God is always God, and therefore All-wise, All-mighty, and All-merciful." On the 16th May, she writes to a friend, the Marquis de Sevigné, whose conversion to serious thoughts had taken place the year before, "At last all are gone, father, sisters, and children. We suffer, but are in peace and absolute submission to the Divine Will. We are convinced that all this is a sign of God's mercy, and meant to purify our souls." On the 25th May she signed and sent a long letter to the Queen-Mother, which she had dictated at intervals (but it would seem that the theologians of Port Royal had suggested the plan of it, and looked over it when written). In this letter she refers to her fifty-five years of conventual life; she recalls the friendship which St. Francis de Sales and the Mère du Chantal had had for her up to their death. She renews her profession of submission to the Pope, and attachment to the Church. She reminds the Queen that her ancestor, King Philip II, had defended St. Theresa under calumnies. She alludes to the miracle by which God had declared himself the Protector of innocence. But this letter, which was required of the Mère by the necessities of the time, stands alone; except the few notes to the Mère du Fargis

early in May, she wrote scarcely any letters during her last illness, and studied above all things to be quiet, and to avoid all publicity.

During all her illness (which must have been an affection of the heart) she could never lie down, but remained day and night sitting up or leaning forward. She constantly thought of death, and often seemed afraid to die, considering God's holiness and her own unworthiness. The chief thing she asked of her intimate friends was that they should give her some comfortable words or that they should pray for the forgiveness of her sins. When asked if she had any message for the sisters, she only said, "Pray God to have mercy on me ; pray that He may forgive my sins." M. Singlin came in secretly to see her for the last time, and she said, "My Father, I shall not see you again, but I promise you I will try to overcome my dread of God's judgment." After this she was more at peace, and used to say : "It is true, God's mercy is eternal : I hope in Him." When M. Singlin was gone, she said, "I believe that he is as present with me by his charity as though I saw him with my eyes. I know what he would say to me, and I try to be in the disposition that he would wish for me. I have always valued him exceedingly, and do so still ; but I have never put man in the place of God." When asked if she did not miss her nephew's ministrations (M. de Sacy ; he had been obliged to hide himself), she said, "My nephew, apart from God, could not help me ; and God, apart from my nephew, can do all things for me." Not only did she suffer these last trials in peace, but, like St. Paul, she was glorified in suffering. One day she said to a friend, "What ! God judges us worthy of suffering for truth and righteousness' sake !

Is it not honour enough to make us tremble ? ” She would never allow any resentment to be expressed at persecutors, and gravely rebuked those who manifested such a spirit. One day she said, “ I know now what Scripture means by saying, ‘ Where the tree falls, there it shall lie ’ ; in sickness the tree is already fallen, and we are incapable of doing anything.”

All the Novices came in once together to see her, and all the Community once (this last visit was on 2nd July). On this occasion the sisters asked her to give them some instruction in these days, when they were deprived of all their teachers ; but she said : “ Is it not enough to remember the teaching we have had ? No one can rob us of what we have laid up in our hearts. St. Elizabeth said on this day (the Visitation), ‘ Whence is this to me ? ’ in admiration that the Blessed Virgin had come to visit her once ; and ought not we to be content, whom the Lord has visited so often with abundant grace and guidance ? ” Presently she said : “ Death is awful ; we ought to prepare for it by repenting even of the least faults. We see at the hour of death many sins in our life to which we never gave a thought before.” Her last words to the Community before they left the room were : “ My sisters, I humbly entreat you to pray God to have mercy on me. Ask Him to humble my pride, ask Him to give me patience ? ” One day about this time, as the threats held out against the House were mentioned in her presence, she said : “ I do not trouble about the future ; or at least, I only trouble about this—whether the spirit of poverty and simplicity will continue to prevail here. If it does, nothing else matters. As for what is done or devised against us, I care for it as little as for this fly,” brushing one away as

she spoke. Hearing a sister sighing, she said : “ My daughter, do not fear ; when I am before God, I will not forget your needs.” When she asked for anything that was not to be got, or not at hand, she was quite contented with the answer, and said that it was a happy thing to be reminded of her vow of poverty, for she was too well looked after. Her illness, which began with oppression, turned to lethargy (from which, by the doctor’s orders, they made constant efforts to rouse her) and then to dropsy. When a special chair was made for her, as she could not lie down, she said she would not refuse it, as it might be useful for other patients after her ; she said the same of the pillow and cushion which were brought to prop her up. She bade them be carefully kept, to solace anyone else who might be in the same condition ; but she would not allow a small curtain to be put to her bed. On the 14th July she dictated a short note to her brother, the Bishop of Angers, thanking him for writing to the King a courageous letter defending those who would not call Jansenius a heretic ; this, she said, was worthy of a Bishop.

For the last fortnight in July she suffered torments from the inflammation of her legs ; she could swallow nothing solid, and liquids only with the greatest difficulty. Her last letter was written at the end of July to her friend, Madame de Boisguilbert, a lady in Rouen ; in it she says : “ The physicians say I am somewhat better at present, but I am in the hands of the Supreme Physician, Who will order all things according to His good pleasure. By His grace I desire nothing, save that His holy will be done.”

On the 27th July she had a great shivering fit for

two hours ; when she began to shake, she lifted up her eyes to heaven, joined her hands, and said : “ God be blest eternally. My God, be Thy holy will done eternally—eternally,” saying the same word over many times.

She communicated often during her illness, and with such devotion that the sisters said it made them devout just to look at her face. Often in these last days she repeated Isaiah xxxiii. 2 : “ O Lord, be gracious unto us ; we have waited for Thee ; be Thou their arm every morning, our salvation also in the time of trouble.” Her niece, who was with her, said, “ A time of trouble ! Ah ! that is indeed our case now ” ; and she turned to her and said lovingly, “ My dear, it is so good for us to be in trouble.” When her niece heard her saying, “ Forgive us our trespasses,” she said, “ O my mother, you forget our trespasses, you are thinking only of yourself ” ; and at once she joined her hands and cried out, “ My God, be merciful to us all, to us all, I entreat Thee, O God,” adding Ps. cxix. 63, “ I am a companion of all those that fear Thee and keep Thy commandments,” and “ In Thee, O Lord, have I trusted ; let me never be confounded.”

Friday, 5th August, was the day of her last communion. Seeing her grow hourly weaker, the Sisters who waited on her suggested that she should communicate once more. At this she roused herself, and began to say some Psalm verses in a low voice while the room was being got ready. Just before the Blessed Sacrament entered, she looked up at a crucifix that was opposite her bed and cried out very earnestly, “ O Jesus, O Jesus, Thou art my God, my Righteousness, my Strength, my All ! ” She received the Holy Sacrament with the

greatest fervour and in heavenly peace and comfort. She said to the Sisters round her, who were all in tears, "Adieu, adieu, my children ; we must go to God." She gave her blessing to all the Community, sending messages to several who were absent. She thanked the officiating priest, and said a kind word to the Sacristan who was attending on him. The Sister who had always waited on her was overwhelmed with grief, and the Mère said to her with tender reproach, "Que vous êtes encore humaine !" She said little else afterwards, and before long became unconscious. She died at 9 P.M. on the following day, Saturday, 6th August (the Festival of the Transfiguration of the Lord). She was aged sixty-nine years eleven months. Her body rests in the outer choir of the Church of Port Royal de Paris (part of which still remains as the Chapel of the Maternity Hospital in the Rue de la Bourbe), but her heart was taken to Port Royal des Champs and laid in the church there. Fifty years later, in 1710, when the very stones of Port Royal were torn asunder and the holy ashes thrown to dogs, this brave and loyal heart was rescued from the ruin, and conveyed to the Church of Palaiseau for its last resting-place.

PASCAL'S METHOD WITH A DOUBTER

Extract from "The Guardian," November 7, 1900

I PURPOSE to reproduce in modern phrase some of the considerations which Pascal suggests to a doubter. To compose an Apology was the projected work of his life, but he died prematurely in 1662, leaving it unfinished. Out of the fragments that he left behind his friends made up an excellent work, which they published in 1670, entitling it *Pensées de M. Pascal sur la religion et sur quelques autres sujets*. However, it was not wholly the true Pascal. Cautious editors had suppressed those passages which stirred burning controversies or upset received notions. They had blurred sharp outlines, suppressed strong words, refrained from pressing trenchant arguments; nor was the arrangement of the work wholly what Pascal had designed.

In 1844 Pascal began to live a new life, when M. Faugère published with reverent care the complete "thoughts" from the original MS. "With what joy," said M. Vinet on his death-bed, "with what interest did we assist at the restoration of the true Pascal!"

I have taken a certain liberty in arranging (after all, the *Pensées* are fragments and have to be arranged somehow), but otherwise I have translated literally what I find in the text as restored by the modern editors.

"Is your path overcast? It is not strange you

should find difficulties in religion. Nay, God's plan is so. 'Thou art a God that hidest Thyself,' says the Prophet. God has provided in His Church sufficient tokens to guide those who seek for truth sincerely, and yet has hidden them so as to be invisible to all but sincere seekers. Are you, then, really earnest in this search? That is the main point. Take care not to be like those who look into a book of the Bible or have an afternoon's talk with a clergyman and then boast that they have sought for truth amongst books and men and not found it. Remember the importance of this question. Death is near, inevitable, absolute. What is to come afterwards? It is not important for you to find out what lies beyond the world of sense? Can nothing be discerned? How frail and fleeting are our pleasures here, how real and growing are our woes, how certain our end. Life is a comedy (you say); yes, but the last act is always tragic, however enjoyable the performance may have been. A shovelful of earth on the head, and we disappear for ever! I know not who has put me in this world, nor what I myself am, or am meant for. The awful silent spaces of the universe encircle me round, and I am stranded in a corner of it, without faculties to penetrate my destiny—all I certainly know is that I must soon die, yet what is death? Shall I after death return to nothingness, or shall I fall into God's hands? And how is He disposed towards me? Have I not to fear His wrath? Oh, it is amazing to see reasonable beings treat these great questions with supreme indifference! They are keen after the slightest advantage, furious at the least affront, in despair over a trifling loss; but the great question of their eternal state finds them absolutely uninterested. A marvellous, inex-

plicable fascination that this world has over them, against all reason. Death will take from them in a moment all these things of sense they are so wrapped up in, and they are utterly indifferent as to what death is and what its results for them. Why, perhaps they think it good manners to seem indifferent; it is the fashion to be an agnostic. They have cast off the yoke of superstition, consider themselves their own masters, rejoice in being accountable to none. 'Is not our soul (they say) only a breath, a puff of smoke?' This they rejoice to proclaim, they are the apostles of this woeful creed. What are the reasons they give for their conviction? Mostly so foolish or so inconclusive that it rather confirms faith to have such adversaries. 'Why,' said one day the listener to an atheistic discourse, 'if you go on talking thus you will make me a Christian'; and, indeed, he was right, for the arguments and the tone of the discourse were adapted to produce the very reverse of conviction. Ah, there are but two reasonable positions: the one is that of those who have found God and serve Him, the other that of those who seek Him with all their heart because they have not found Him. Bestow, if you please, some of your leisure not unworthily on this great subject. If papers professing to be the deeds that gave you right to a fine property came in your way, you would not cast them aside as worthless till you had examined them very carefully, and here your all is at stake. A criminal waits in his cell, uncertain if his death sentence is passed; he has an hour to find out how things really stand with him, to lodge an appeal, press for a revocation. Oh no, he will occupy himself contentedly at cards, without troubling to ascertain. Can folly go further?

“ Look at man's position ; an atom lost in the infinite bosom of nature, where this earth itself is but a point, and yet science discerns another infinity beneath him. The telescope goes a little way (not far) into the infinity of greatness, the microscope a little way (not far) into the infinity of littleness. Man meanwhile hangs suspended between the two, able to discern a little way round him, but not to pierce the depth or height of being ; he is but a link in a great chain which stretches on both sides far beyond his sight. Look at man's greatness and at his frailty ; he is but a reed, yet ‘ *un roseau pensant*.’ A vapour, a drop of water suffices to kill him ; but he is more noble than nature, in that he is conscious of his end, while his brute adversary knows nothing. Man is capable of high efforts, of glorious excellences, and yet also of the vilest degradation ; he has in himself no store of satisfaction, nay, he cannot endure to be without diversion—that is his most intimate necessity, to be taken out of himself—leave him unemployed, uninterested, thrown back on himself, and weariness, melancholy, disgust, and despair spring up in his heart. Look how vain is his knowledge—mostly conventional, or based on fancy ; examine his most firmly rooted opinions, and see on how little ground they rest. On what nothings has the destiny of empires turned ? Had Cleopatra's nose been shorter, had a grain of sand not found its way into the bladder of Cromwell, the world would have been otherwise ordered. All that man loves is daily running away and will soon be gone ; all that he knows is so little and so unsatisfactory. If he is created a little lower than God in his faculties and aims, he yet bears signs of a downfall—a confusion ; some string has jarred

in this fine instrument. See whether the Bible cannot give you the key of these contradictions. Does it not speak of an original glory of man and of a subsequent rebellion and corruption? Stoic philosophers dwell on the majesty of human nature, epicureans recommend man to be content with pleasures of sense, but neither of these gives the whole solution. Is it not this: that man was made for God and for happiness, and yet has lost himself?"

"But," you reply, "I have really no capacity for metaphysical reasoning. These abstract facts of yours do not impress me. I find this world satisfactory enough—

‘For I and mine, thank somebody,
Are not in want of victual.’

Why should not I go on contentedly and chance the unknown future?" "What a poor, spiritless player you are," replies Pascal; "any gambler with his wits about him would stake in this game. Here the risk is small and the prize enormous. You would readily venture 1 on an even chance of getting 3, and here is infinite bliss to be gained by a small stake." "What must I stake?" "Well, not much; offer your ways and doings to God. If religion turns out false, after all, you will have lost very little. Pleasures of vice, ambition, avarice, you will have missed; you must relinquish crooked ways—here is something to part with!—but you will have got much better enjoyments, even here below. You will have proved a faithful friend, merciful, loving, righteous, hopeful, grateful—are these no small satisfactions? I do not think you stand to lose much, any way, by taking faith's side;

and, if faith turn up trumps, the stake you realise is infinite. Why, as the game proceeds, you will acquire more and more certainty that you have staked wisely, and that yours is the winning side. Look at those before your day who have put down their money thus, imitate them, see how wisely they chose. Live as converted men do, train yourself in religion, clasp your hands to pray, kneel, obey God's law, study Scripture, and the blessed habit of faith will grow on you. I assure you, dear friend (and I pray earnestly that my words may touch your heart), it is well worth while to take this line and venture something—what can we gain in love or war, in commerce or speculation, without making a venture? Here is a small venture to be risked, and an immeasurable return to be found.”

“But am I bound to stake at all; can I not remain a looker-on at the game?” “Ah, the conditions of life are so, you are bound to make a venture on one side or the other—the side of God and goodness, or of your own passions, and you must act without demonstrative certainty.” “Ah (you say), I would soon have laid selfishness aside if I had got faith.” “I reply, you would soon have got faith if you laid selfishness aside. The prudent course for you is to accustom your mind and will to the atmosphere of faith, and say, ‘*Inclina cor meum, Deus*’—proofs do not affect us at all moments, but faith may become the abiding habit of our life.”

“I agree with you, then, so far, though I thought otherwise at first. I am willing to look at the proofs that you offer. I acknowledge that the subject is worth my attention, and that if religion does prove true, I shall have scored greatly by attending to it.

“But, after all, a reasonable man must have reasons

to give. This staking on a chance, being religious on habit, blindly following characters that I admire, all this is not enough." "Certainly not (says Pascal), nor do I dream for a moment of persuading you thus. I desire your reasonable adhesion ; I offer you proofs worthy of study. All I wanted was to show you that your own interest is considerably involved in the inquiry. Again, in weighing reasons, remember that the heart has a logic of its own, not less true and imperious than that which the intellect wields.

"I return to the problem of our destiny, and ask what philosophy has to say concerning it—almost nothing worth attending to, its lights are so contradictory and so partial. Philosophy ignores the real facts of our nature. Either it puffs up humanity in a most unreal way or leaves it grovelling in despair ; nor have the world's religions much to obtain our attention (indeed, in Pascal's day the study of comparative religions was little known). They are greatly deficient both in proof and in moral influence. True religion must surely bid man move his Maker, must account for the facts of human nature, must offer a remedy for sin, must supply a rule of life, must bring a tradition from ancient days. When I look through the world's history I am struck by the phenomenon of the Jewish nation and literature. I notice their extraordinary tenacity through long ages ; the high and deep thoughts which their Prophets and Psalmists had ; their tradition of man's fall and corruption ; their forward look towards a spiritual law, a moral deliverance, an extension of true religion throughout the world. In their very history I see spiritual truths shadowed forth, their forward glance has a marvellous penetration. No

doubt they are burdened with material ceremonies, tangible rewards, predictions of earthly victories ; but is there not something deeper which animates the whole dispensation, and gives it meaning ? It is hard to reconcile the two points of view ; but I cannot think that such hopes and thoughts as Jewish seers had were meant to end in carnal victories. Could the looked-for reward be only the land flowing with milk and honey ? Could the chanted victories be wrought for the mere overthrow of Philistines or Assyrians ? Could the Divine kingdom be only a material throne, where the king's favourites sit on his right hand and on his left ? Oh no ; the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is more than the author of nature, more than the rewarder of His servants with an earthly Canaan. The God of old-time believers is a God of love and consolation—a God Who fills the heart of His chosen, teaches them their nothingness and His mercy, makes them desire to possess Him for ever.”

“ But can we find this glorious God ? The Old Testament reveals Him, yet in figure and shadow. The Old Testament does not do away with the barrier of our sins which kept us from reaching Him, does not supply the key to its own perplexities. The Old Testament religion is written in a cipher which those days could not interpret.”

“ No, but the Gospel reveals One Who has the key of David, Who ‘ openeth and no man shutteth ’ ; without Him the knowledge of God and of our own nature is alike full of confusion ; but He gives light that shows us both God and ourselves. Saints of old time looked earnestly for a Deliverer to come. They made guesses about Him. They sketched Him out in seemingly

contradictory characters. As time grew on, they looked more and more closely for Him. When He came He fulfilled all these varying and seemingly inconsistent predictions. I think that these predictions of the Gospel, so varied, so continuous, so serious, are well worth looking into. The whole Jewish economy has a forward look ; was not meant to end in itself ; is but a link in man's spiritual progress ; pointed to somewhat further."

" On this all-important subject you see I don't employ arguments from final causes. I do not undertake to point out to you evidences of design or benevolence in the conduct of nature. Not that I despise such topics, which have their place in Scripture and are therefore to be respected. Believers may suitably edify themselves with such studies ; for believers ' The heavens declare the glory of God ' ; but faith is not commenced by that means. ' No man knoweth the Father, save the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal Him.' Nor do I dwell on metaphysical or abstract proofs of God's existence ; these impress but a few minds, and those but temporarily. Divine Wisdom would touch your heart rather than convince your understanding ; perfect clearness does not suit with mortal condition, but is there not a tempered radiance in the Gospel ? The Christian religion recognises man's first created glory, and yet adapts itself to his present woeful state. When I speak of proof and investigation I know well that many minds have not the leisure or capacity for study. Such may believe, and believe well, though they have no power to analyse their faith or defend it by argument. God offers them evidence suitable to their condition ; but He does indeed require a reason-

able service, a free choice—you may find faith's paths hard to traverse at first, but that is the fault of the darkness in which you lived before, rather than of the light which is just beginning to shine in your heart."

In considering the history of the Jews as leading up to the Christian revelation, Pascal must acknowledge that he has never heard of Biblical criticism, and is indeed far from erudite, though his Port Royal friends did their best to keep up with the learning of those days. Pascal, when he has secured your attention, is content to present the ordinary topics of Christian apology, and is utterly lacking in Oriental learning. If he lived now he would have to revise this part of his method in the light of modern science; but the substance of his remarks has not lost its force. It is still true that the Jewish religion has lofty doctrines about the Creator, a holy law, a marvellous tenacity, a strange mixture of carnal ceremonies and spiritual promises, an onward look towards the evangelisation of the world. The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is still our God. "In the Old Testament guesses abound (says Pascal), riddles, figures, things suited to the hardness of men's hearts, and yet the deepest precept of all is, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God.' Were there not under the old dispensation two sorts of believers? The one rested on temporal promises, expected victories over earthly foes, were content with Moses' law; and yet there were elect souls who had further longings, higher thoughts." It is impossible, Pascal urges, to regard the Old Testament as wholly carnal; there are many passages which cannot be explained thus—that key will not open all the locks—when once the Christian meaning

has been applied, no other will wholly suffice. Some souls, no doubt, were content with

“The pageant of God's perfect law.”

They were satisfied with

“Gold and gems a dazzling maze.”

Yet there were others

“Who sought behind the veil to see.”

The Prophets (Pascal loves to dwell on the Prophets) are a body of witnesses; they pass on sacred hopes; they point out a righteous One to come; they tell of a perfect religion, a universal message—they have strange coincidences with what Jesus did and suffered—to them the sacrifices, the Covenant, the ark, the cleansings, the victories of old times seem insufficient, in comparison of what is to come. Biblical critics of to-day would perhaps think that Pascal is right in finding in the Prophets the centre and crown of the Old Testament religion. They do not indeed dwell (as he too much does) on minute coincidences. But they allow an abiding relation between the marvellous seers of the eighth or ninth centuries B.C. and the message which Christ Jesus brought.

But Pascal will not keep you long in the study of Jewish types and predictions—though that is dear to him—he begins to contemplate the Gospel itself. He says, “I bid you look at the three kinds of greatness—the first is material greatness, the eminence of rank, wealth, or power—carnal eyes can discern that. A second kind of greatness is that of the intellect. Genius has its empire, its glory, its victory, its renown, though

invisible to carnal sense. Mind flashes on mind. Mind wins victories over matter. Jesus and His saints are pre-eminent in a third order of greatness—not theirs to reign, or to demonstrate; but theirs is humility, holiness, love, compassion. They are terrible to powers of evil; theirs is indeed a great pomp and prodigious magnificence to the illumined sight. Behold the radiance of this glory, which neither matter nor intellect can equal. This glory is hidden from the world, but true hearts appreciate it. Christ speaks of heavenly things as one Who is at home in them, with perfect clearness and yet simplicity. His soul is heroic, yet humbled with trouble and agony when He wills. If He is God manifest among men, He is a God Whom we can trust; we draw near to Him without pride, we submit to Him without abasement.”

“Look closer (says Pascal), nay, listen attentively, and you will hear His voice still speaking. He addresses the heart. He says: ‘Be comforted; thou wouldst not be seeking Me hadst thou not found Me.’ He says: ‘Follow my rules; see how well I have guided those who committed themselves to My care.’ He says: ‘I thought on thee in My agony, I shed such and such drops of blood for thee. Am I not present still by My word in Scripture, by My Spirit in the Church, by My power in priests, by My abiding prayer in all the faithful? Physicians will not cure thee, for thou must die at last; but I have remedies which give immortality.’ He says: ‘Bear the chains of thy bodily condition for a while; it is the soul that I set free first. Conversion rests with Me; fear not, but trust and pray.’” This (you will say) is utter mysticism; but to the seeker after truth the voice of Christ is a real voice which

comes out of the darkness and powerfully attracts the heart.

Pascal ends his remarks thus: "Do not think the Gospel appeals wholly to feelings; it brought with it miracles as tokens of God's power at work. Truth has not its home here below; it wanders undiscerned; but miracles manifest it, as with a flash of light." "But (you say) are not miracles part of the legendary baggage of all nations and religions?" "Nay (I reply), the profusion of false miracles shows that this proof has been largely counterfeited, but does not take away its reality; or do you say that nature is infallible, unalterable, and, therefore, miracles are impossible? But is not 'nature' really a phrase for what we are accustomed to? One day the sun may rise—the course of nature (as Butler will remind you) is rather a phrase than a necessity."

"The Christian religion offers such proofs as these, and they are not unworthy of attention. Our faith was wonderfully set up at first, being so mysterious in its doctrines, so exacting in its requirements. Wonderfully, too, it was preserved against all that power and learning could do; emperors and sages were all against it. A Christian soul is a wonderful creation: where else can you find holiness, humility, peace, and active charity combined? Scripture is full of marvels, not wholly explicable without Divine inspiration. The martyrs testify with the sacrifice of their lives. Above all, the character and work of Christ Jesus is wholly unique. The truthfulness of the Apostles is manifest and the work they wrought; no one can really suppose that they conspired together to invent the tale of Christ's Resurrection. Wonderful, too, is the permanence and universal applicability of Christian truth

amidst a changed world. In every land the Psalms are sung. The history of the Church is the history of truth ; religion has always been attacked, but never overthrown ; heretics, schismatics, false teachers, corrupt Christians have done their utmost, but truth remains. Nay, when primitive tradition has been rejected and truth stifled, miracles may occur nowadays to show on which side God is. In the presence of corruption and oppression the believer says, ‘ Ad tuum, Domine Iesu, tribunal appello ’ : his motto always is, ‘ Obey God rather than man. ’ ”

“ Surveying all the path through which I have led you, you will find that God’s way of dealing with us is, not to reveal Himself in light and majesty now (as He will at the last day), but to give light enough for those who wish to see. Perfect clearness would provide us no probation for the will ; but, if His mercy is so great, His teaching so salutary, now, while He is in great measure hidden, what light shall we not find when He shows Himself at last ? Some natures feel impatience at this heaven-sent obscurity :

“ “ Only disperse the cloud,” they cry.

“ And, if our fate be death, give light and let us die.”

Unwise I deem them, Lord.’

It is best to be content with that dimness which God sends, and which belongs to our mortal condition. But do you not say that faith is a gift of God alone ? What, then, do proofs avail ? Yes ; but I offer you proofs in order to influence your intellect, that you may be disposed to obey God’s grace when it touches your heart—the heart is the more important part of us. One must know earthly things in order to love them ; but

for Divine things love precedes knowledge. Is not the utmost conclusion of reason to recognise that many things are beyond reason, 'realms where (as Bishop Thirlwall says) the writ of science does not run?' I bid you reasonably conclude that your reason may well lean on a Divine guide, and in whom else but in our Master do the tokens of such a guide appear?"

The foregoing analysis is too brief. I have left out a great deal, and have had to substitute my own rough English for the splendour of Pascal's inimitable French; but the substance is faithful enough and not out of date yet. Perhaps I have failed most in rendering the scorn with which Pascal speaks of human nature, as it is now, its boasted certainties, mock venerations, cruel unfairness, blank perplexity—he has such a high notion of man's original glory that man's present condition appears to him all the more contemptible—but yet Pascal loves to trace the dawn of hope, sees humanity through the ages stretching forth hands to its Deliverer Who appears at last, full of mercy, full of power.

Pascal's topics will be seen at once to coincide to a great extent with those of Bishop Butler, only adapted to seventeenth-century requirements, as Butler meets those of the eighteenth. Both these great writers insist that all things form a connected scheme too wide and deep for us to comprehend; both are emphatic on man's ignorance; both address unbelievers, and profess to offer, not demonstrative evidence, but something; and what bears on practice rather than theory. Both dwell on the power of habit, and recommend the formation of habits of religion; both regard the Gospel as a remedial interposition sent into a fallen world; both consider miracles and prophecy (especially the

latter) to be the proper proofs of the Gospel ; both insist that a moral test for the searcher is provided by the very insufficiency (logically speaking) of the evidence ; both take a grave and awful view of life, have a lofty and fervent moral tone, lead up to the Cross ; both put aside metaphysical and teleologic arguments ; both mention Judaism as a cardinal piece of evidence ; both point out the purpose of the visible Church as set up to be an abiding witness through the ages ;—both bid the doubter put the question to himself, “ What is safest ? ” “ What, practically is my interest ? ”—both are the product, not of the study or the seminary, but of conversation and the experience of life.

But Pascal's work has never acquired its final form—it is but a collection of brilliant “ thoughts,” of memoranda designed for a projected apology, and Butler takes up many other lines of thought suited to his own day.

It is not strange that the Jansenist Gospel, grave and serious in tone, humbling to men's pride, pressing home the contradictions and mysteries in our nature, insisting on the Cross as the sole source of light and peace, should be extremely repulsive to the philosophers of the eighteenth century—Voltaire, for good or for evil, well represents the new age in its boldest mood. A mighty adversary !—to him Macaulay applies the lines :

“ I forewarn thee, shun
His deadly arrow
. . . . for that fatal dint,
Save Him Who reigns above, none can resist.”

Voltaire fell upon Pascal (he only knew the text of 1670) with cries of passionate scorn ; his notes on the *Pensées* are of 1734, and he republished them in his

edition of the *Pensées* in 1778. It speaks well for Pascal as "solidaire" with the Gospel, that in his long warfare with Christianity Voltaire should at once, and to the end, find Pascal directly in his way. He represents humanity newly conscious of its powers, reliant on its good impulses, urgent to brush away the fetters of the past, destitute of reverence, distrustful of authority, impatient of mysteries. It is his object to scoff Pascal out of the field. "Here (he says) is a madman, a fanatic, an invalid who is killing himself with foolish asceticism, and who colours with his sick dreams all the bright field of nature! look how he imagines mysteries in order to have the credit of solving them! Whence (says Voltaire) come these complaints of man's wretchedness? I enjoy good music, good society, a good income, the pleasures of life; and I do not feel this darkness and this burden which you invent for the purpose of keeping me in bondage. Is not Philosophy, with its lofty temper, its active philanthropy, the real remedy for mankind? What is this theory of the fall of man, the remedy of grace, an eternity of bliss or woe, but the crotchet of some Oriental dreamer? Look at history, and see how the persecutors and villains of all ages have been those who had the firmest faith in dogmas. Have not dogmas filled the world with blood? You talk of the Jews as the recipients of revelation, the heirs of promise. Ah! how vile are the Jews, how sanguinary, how superstitious. What a mass of fables is their history! How came they to be, as you say, the favourites of Providence? And yet even they, who own the Prophets, never put the meaning on them that Christians feign. Nay, the Prophets are altogether too contemptible to be considered as evidence.

What will you find in those wretches (cries Voltaire) but filth and rubbish? What a pity that Pascal had so little access to Philosophy, which would have taught him a better wisdom. Is not mankind busy to-day in removing the cruelties and abuses which the ages of faith have stamped upon us?"

Here is an adversary not to be despised, and there are temperaments that feel his power, and times when he is powerful. The happy few who are in easy circumstances, enjoy good health, have no great burdens to bear, have met with no deceptions or downfalls—these are naturally disposed to be Voltairian. To them this world and its offers seem sufficient as yet; they are able to avert their mind from perplexing questions, and from the grim face of Death.

But "the mystery of the Cross is learnt under the Cross." "The stars in their courses" have fought on Pascal's side. We have seen how ineffectual is Philosophy

"To ease the world's immortal pain."

We have witnessed the age of reason

"Sink in blood,
And compassed by the fires of hell."

Atheism has proved the most bitter of persecutors, theophilanthropism the most hollow of shams. No remedy for human woes has superseded the Cross—no consolations of Philosophy replaced the Psalter. The immense increase of knowledge in the last two centuries has not removed but deepened our sense of the mystery of Being. The investigations of modern criticism serve but to disengage the real message of the Bible. The

burden of loss has grown no lighter, the fount of tears no less bitter for the progress of culture and science. Other reformers have had their day and done their work, but Christ Jesus still gives new life. Perhaps the strain through which our country is passing now is peculiarly fitted to make a hearing for the Gospel as Pascal presents it.

To him the contradictions and limitations of human nature, the stern facts of life, the problems of science, the development of Scripture, the character and work of Christ Jesus, the lessons of Christian experience, all point one way and bid us trust. He assures us that that faith which

“Believes, because it loves, aright,
Shall see things greater, things Divine.”

And he urges these considerations with a transparent sincerity, a hearty courage and enthusiasm, a great reverence and homely simplicity, that makes his words live through the ages.

AN ESSAY AT CHURCH REFORM IN THE REVOLUTION ERA

Extract from "The Guardian," June 21, 1905

DEAN CHURCH says, somewhere, "If Jansenism had a tame and inglorious end, no Frenchman can ever forget its magnificent beginnings." But was its end so tame and inglorious? Has it, indeed, ever come to an end? He notes "the characteristic stiffness and staunchness of the Jansenist," his "taste for the simple and the solid," his "familiarity with the Bible"—these are not altogether transitory qualities. I venture in the following sketch to call attention not to France, but to Italy, not to the "grand siècle," but to

"Europe's dying hour
Of fitful dream and feverish power,"

and I shall show the same principles at work which made Port Royal famous.

Eighty-six heretical propositions are specified in the Bull *Auctorem Fidei*, published by Pius VI in 1794 to condemn the Synod of Pistoia, and they are very much the same in substance as the hundred and one heretical propositions which appear in the Bull *Unigenitus*, published by Clement XI in 1713 to condemn the *Réflexions Morales*. The thing condemned is the same, the doctrine of man's profound inability and unworthiness apart from Divine all-powerful grace; with such

corollaries from it as the necessity of reading Holy Scripture, of reforming the Church, of recurring to primitive times, of bringing true contrition to the tribunal of penitence. I remark the vitality of this view of things and I recall a remark of a very acute writer, speaking of Augustinianism :

“There is somewhere or other in that theology some principle of antagonism to the full development of the Roman system.”¹

See, it stands its ground. It is struck down in France to reappear in Italy. Amid the rising tide of change, the strong unbelieving influences of the age, the weight of popular superstitions and corruptions, Augustinian doctrine holds up its head and requires to be anathematised afresh. What is the cause of this revival ?

One cause, no doubt, is the high recommendation under which reform reappears. It had been crushed in France because absolute monarchy was against it, it reappears in Italy with absolute monarchy for it. It had been thoroughly disagreeable to Louis XIV as well as to the Court of Rome. But though it remained hateful to Rome, it was the dream of the Imperial House of Austria in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Joseph II and his brother Leopold, who succeeded him in the Empire, had great dreams of a purified Church, a spiritualised religion, a practical reform of worship as well as of other departments of the national life. Leopold was Grand Duke of Tuscany for about twenty-five years (1765–90), and worked out on a smaller scale, with more patience and practical wisdom, that same idea of Church reform which his rash Imperial

¹ Bishop Fitzgerald's "Lectures on Eccles," *History*, vol. ii. p. 146.

brother forced in vain on a world not ready for it. Let me briefly indicate the nature of that Church reform, which in his long sovereignty over Tuscany Leopold endeavoured to set working, but which after his departure and death was reversed with shouts and anathemas by the upholders of the old order. After reigning for more than twenty years he had thoroughly made up his mind as to what he wanted done in Church matters ; nor was he alone in his purposes, for the age went with him. The Empire, France, Spain, Venice, the German Electors, were all adopting reforms of the same kind. Leopold strove to restrain donations in mortmain, to bridle the Inquisition, to bring ecclesiastics under the criminal laws, to get rid of begging friars, to diminish the enormous number of useless priests, to reform evil life and sloth in convents, to check the recourse of Tuscan money and petitions to Rome, to stamp out sanctuaries as nests of crime. In this heavy task he found in his way the Court of Rome, as well as superstition among the people and ignorance among the clergy ; but some bishops and priests were heartily on his side.

Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia and Prato (1780-91), had been brought up by Jesuits, but had early learnt from monks of Monte Cassino the doctrines of grace. He set to work in his diocese to reform the abuses and diminish the number of convents, to improve the education of priests, to bring into use vernacular "Litanies of Jesus" ; he ordered that the Gospel should be explained at High Mass ; he circulated prayers and Testaments in Italian, also useful religious books ; dispensations (when required) he himself gave without cost, instead of sending the applicants to Rome ;

he new painted one image which was thought to shed miraculous tears, and took away the veils which concealed others ; he so rearranged parishes as to provide sufficient income and duties for priests who could then administer the Sacraments gratis. The Diocesan Synod of Pistoia, which he held in September 1786, reads like a resurrection from past ages. The Bishop, in his letter convoking the Synod, invites them to

“ Labour for the reform of abuses in this age of general corruption, when the majority of Christians profess quite another Gospel from that which Christ taught.”

He has obeyed the Grand Duke's order in convoking the Synod, and has been encouraged by the sympathy of “ the first of Christ's Vicars, the Roman Pontiff, Pius VI ” ; he cites at length Councils and Fathers and the “ illustrious Church of Utrecht.”

All sessions of the Council were held with due Masses, processions, ceremonies, Litanies ; the Creed of Pope Pius IV was solemnly recited at the beginning as a profession of faith ; some two hundred and forty priests attended. The opening sermon by Dr. Bartoli recommended reform ; he invited the Synod to “ re-establish truth in its ancient splendour ” :

“ The world expects from you something great and extraordinary.” “ Beware of the new Pharisees, the pernicious casuists, the neglect of Holy Scripture, the doctrine that man can rely on his own strength, the multitude of puerile and superstitious practices which have found their way into the Church.” “ Let us claim,” said the preacher, “ our ancient right as a diocesan synod to examine the canons and decrees which are sent

down to us ; let us take care not to make Christ's kingdom a kingdom of this world. We are inviolably attached to the Roman See as the centre of unity, but we abhor the maxims of Gregory VII and those Popes who have had the same spirit. They dared to dispose of thrones, dissolve the obligations of subjects, confound the temporal with the spiritual."

The Synod sat from 18th to 27th September, held seven sessions, passed decrees on Faith, on Grace, on the Sacraments, on Marriage, on Reform of Seculars and Regulars ; they adopted the Grand Duke's paper of suggestions on ecclesiastical affairs, reissued the Gallican Articles of 1682 on the independence of the temporal power, recommended a plan of clerical study according to the theology of St. Augustine, reaffirmed the Articles on Grace which had been presented to Innocent XI and to Benedict XIII. Nearly all the clergy present subscribed the decrees, some few protesting or excusing themselves. A list of devotional and practical works was recommended to parish priests, among which I find a crowd of Jansenist productions—the Bible Histories of Mésenguy and Royaumont (Fontaine) ; the Catechisms of Bishop Colbert and Archbishop Montazet ; Nicole's *Essays* ; the *Réflexions Morales* of Quesnel, and the *Année Chrétienne* of Le Tourneux ; not to speak of a corrected Breviary and De Sacy's *Bible avec explication*.

The proceedings of the Synod were not published (so the Grand Duke desired) till after the National Council of the Bishops of Tuscany, which was to be held in 1787. The Bishop, in announcing this postponement of publication, encourages his clergy to maintain

the rules and practices of piety which the Synod has enjoined, speaks of malicious persons "who strive to render our faith and doctrine suspect," and rejoices in "the protection and favour of our enlightened Sovereign." In 1788, when the decrees of the Synod are published, with the Grand Duke's authorisation, the Bishop prefixes a Pastoral Letter, in which he quotes St. Charles as saying :

"Many will object that our days cannot bear the rigour of ancient canone. They will say that we have long lived after another fashion, and our fathers before us, why should we make any change ? " And as replying : " Let us despise such discourses ; let us be sure that there is no better method of preserving religion than that which was employed to set it up at first."

In the decrees of the Synod, when published, no doubt the Holy Office found matter for condemnation at the time, but it was not then seasonable to utter it. Pope Pius VI had visited Vienna in 1782, in the vain hope of arresting Joseph's Church reforms. On that occasion the Pope and the Emperor used to argue for three hours each day, but to no purpose—nor did the Pontiff care to engage in direct conflict with Leopold. A Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of Chiusi, put forth in the very year of the Pistoian Synod, and containing strong passages on "the obscuration of Truth in the later days of the Church," was condemned by two briefs from Rome, with words of blame for the Tuscan Bishops and Government ; but the Bishop declined to retract. However, the time soon came for the party of reaction to have their way.

At a Council of the Bishops of Tuscany, held by the

Grand Duke's order, in 1787, the preponderance was strongly on the side of the maintenance of things as they were. Somewhat reluctantly the Archbishops and Bishops of the majority agreed that the regulars should be subject to the Ordinary, and liable to assist the parish priest; that the studies of the clergy should be regulated after St. Augustine's theology (but they took care to insert "as interpreted by St. Thomas"); that missals and breviaries should be corrected; that the Sacraments should be administered gratis; that the dissipation and luxury of clerks should be restrained. The whole Council consisted of three Archbishops and fourteen Bishops and their theologians. Out of these, four Bishops were strong for reform, two or three were moderate in their views. The remainder, including the three Archbishops of Florence, Pisa, and Siena, considered it dangerous to interfere with the Papal power, or diminish the number of the clergy, or acknowledge that abuses prevailed.

The Grand Duke was far from satisfied with the deliberations of the Council; but his own Ministers did not fall in with his whole-hearted desire for reform, and his succession to the Empire in 1790, followed by his speedy death, removed him from the scene and delivered the reformers among the Tuscan clergy into the hands of their reactionary enemies. The devout at Prato made a riot, tore down the Bishop's arms and burnt his books, lighted up the church all night, and adored "the Holy Cincture" there, chased away the Bishop's seminarists, put up veils again before the images, refused to let the Bishop baptize or confirm their children. The Madonna of Pistoia was seen again to sweat and to shed tears; the Sacred Heart was once

more venerated, money was paid for Masses, bodies were again buried within the churches, reforming curés were expelled from their parishes.

By 1791 Ricci's friend, the Grand Duke Leopold, had become Emperor and gone. His son and successor in Tuscany, Ferdinand III, was young and inexperienced, and wholly in the hands of his Ministers, who gave the Bishop no support. Finally he decided to resign his see, desiring by his resignation

“To restore peace among his flock, and hoping that a new pastor might have more success in accomplishing the good which he found was beyond his power.”

In announcing his determination to the Pope he professed his submission and attachment to the Holy See, and received a kind reply in the Pope's own hand.

After this Ricci lived in retirement, either in the country or in Florence (1791-99) (note, however, that he expressed his approval of the “Constitution Civile du Clergé”), while an Ultramontane successor in the bishopric set himself to reverse all that he had done. In April 1794 the Pope informed the Grand Duke Ferdinand that Ricci ought to appear at Rome to make answer before sentence was given against him. Ferdinand refused to send him, but alleged his infirm health as the reason, and recommended the Pope not to trouble to condemn the decrees of Pistoia, which were now forgotten and laid aside. However, the fear that that Synod might be taken as a model for impending Church reforms in Spain induced the Pope to persevere with the condemnation. The Bull *Auctorem Fidei* was publicly affixed on St. Augustine's own day, 28th August 1794. The Grand Duke refused to receive or

publish it, and the Catholic Governments generally did the same ; but Falchi, Ricci's successor, enforced it as a rule of faith, enjoined it upon confessors, and so influenced the people that they fled from Ricci as a heretic when he entered the church to say Mass, and he had great difficulty in inducing a priest to give him absolution. He made no public protest against the Bull, but lived in retirement, occupying himself with study and prayer.

In 1799 he was dragged from his dwelling, when the peasant " Army of the Madonna " entered Florence in pursuit of the retreating French. He was imprisoned, ill-used, and in great danger of life. Finally he was forced to promise, as a condition of being set free, that he would receive the Bull. After being let out of prison he was detained for a month at St. Marco, much abhorred by the monks, but rejoicing that he was allowed to say Mass in the cell that had once been Savonarola's. The re-entry of the French again checked his persecutors.

When Pope Pius VII was passing through Florence, in 1805, on his way back from crowning Napoleon, Ricci obtained an interview with him, through the intervention of the Queen-regent of Etruria, Marie Louise of Parma. He had first to sign his acceptance of the Bull and condemnation of Jansenism. Then the Pope received him kindly, and accepted his assurances that his own sentiments had always been Catholic, and that he had never held the condemned doctrines in any other than a Catholic sense. The Pope said that he willingly believed this—in fact, the Papal Court was much chagrined at the favour which he showed to the ex-Bishop. Ricci's last days were spent in religious

studies—his favourite subject was the Lord's Passion, in which he always found ample material for meditation. He died, with abundant signs of faith and penitence, and fortified by the Sacraments, on 27th January 1810, aged sixty-nine. Funeral services were celebrated for him in his own cathedral by a new Bishop who had succeeded Falchi.

Of this attempt to bring back primitive times it might be said (as has been said of Archbishop Laud's reforms) that it was rather imposed from above, by royal authority, than invoked by clergy and people. Also that, to succeed, it required a preliminary work of education and a study of antiquity, which was generally lacking; and, further, that it fell on an unpropitious time, when revolutionary excesses had awakened a fierce tide of reaction. Yet I have, perhaps, done well in reviving its forgotten memory.

POSTSCRIPT

By the Rev. E. F. Russell, of St. Alban's, Holborn

I HAVE been asked, as one of the oldest and most intimate of Henry Morgan's friends, to append to the interesting sketch of his life given above, my own personal recollections of him.

Our friendship dates from the year 1865, when we met for the first time at the Cuddesdon Theological College, in the golden days when Edward King was Principal. I remember, at our first acquaintance, thinking him dry and cold, and wanting in sympathy. Probably throughout his life this was the impression most men received of him at first. He was a few years my senior and seemed still older because of his habitual seriousness, and also because of an unusual maturity of judgment as of one who had thought things out and had made up his mind about them. Very soon, however, we were able to see through and then to break through the thin ice of his misleading manner. Beneath the frigid, impassive exterior there lay, as beneath the snows of Etna, a latent fire of love which—I speak of that which I know—never could do enough for his friends and never failed them through all the changes and chances of our after life. Fundamentally our deepest interests were identical. The Catholic faith was as dear and as commanding to him as to any of us.

The Presence of our blessed Saviour in the Eucharist all through his life remained to him, not only a reality, but the supreme reality in the Communion of the soul with God. But he differed and continued to differ unto the end from those of us who sought to express and to impress our faith by its dramatic presentation in ritual. He taught the faith by word of mouth, and then left it with confidence, as one might leave leaven, to work its transformation in the soul; but ritual did not appeal to him, did not come naturally to him: therefore he left it alone, and by so doing led some to misunderstand his real position. Carefulness, reverence, the awe-struck apprehension of the presence of the divine Majesty—all these were conspicuous in his ministrations; but he was not interested in or hopeful about the revival of the ancient symbolic ritual, and indeed was not physically fitted to take part in it. I used to tell him that something of the old Adam, of the sturdy British Philistine, still survived in him, and he did not resent but smiled at my criticism. Music lay quite outside his experience, and so did pictorial art. The only pictures in his study were the portraits of his friends. It must not be inferred from this that he was insensitive to beauty. Nothing gave him greater happiness than noble architecture. He visited the French and English cathedrals again and again; he never tired of exploring them and never felt that he had exhausted their interest or charm. Second only to his appreciation of Gothic architecture was his love for poetry. He had committed quantities of the best poetry to memory and could at demand repeat whole poems, not musically or pathetically, but accurately and with evident pleasure. It was the older poetry

which charmed him most. Our nearest approach to a quarrel arose once over R. L. Stevenson's *Child's Garden of Verses*, which he took down from his shelves, read it awhile, and called it "stuff." I think he was measuring it in his mind against the *Lyra Innocentium*, and failed to find—not unnaturally—in R. L. Stevenson the depth and spirituality of his beloved Keble.

Mr. Mackay refers to the tenacity of Henry Morgan's friendliness. It is one of the most conspicuous and most beautiful features of his character. He had indeed a genius for friendship, and that not only with those who were more or less on the same level of intelligence and social standing with himself, but with lads and men of the humblest walks of life, pupil-teachers, factory-hands, pit-lads, and the like. To one and all—to use the expression of St. Paul—he "clave," that is to say, he glued them to himself, and himself to them with a charity which withstood every shock which threatened their fellowship. How much I owe, in common with so many others, to the patient, long-suffering steadfastness of his love! There are many who are now doing work of great value in the Mission Field, as well as at home, who owe everything to him. He helped them to discover their vocation and cleared the way for them to follow it. He lent them books, gave up to them a corner of his study, taught them French and Latin, paid in part their college fees, had them to spend some part of their vacation with him, and after their ordination would keep up for years a correspondence with them wherever they might be. On his visits to London he usually came to lunch with me, but never gave me more than an hour of his time, because some old pupil-teachers of his were now working

as masters in different parts of London and he must go and see them to cheer them at their work.

He had an excellent, well-chosen working library, books such as scholars use, rich in the departments of Biblical criticism, of French homiletics, and of history. Amongst the books I prize are his copies of the works of Bossuet and of Vinet. There are few of the many volumes of these spacious writers which do not bear his pencil marks, and at the end references to the more noteworthy passages. The special feature of his library was his collection of Port Royal books, which stood in rows upon rows of little brown duodecimos upon his shelves. They represented the patient, intelligent accumulation of years. Every month foreign catalogues of old books were sent to him, and he would search them through in the hope of finding some rare volume of the immense Port Royal literature which he did not already possess. And he had done what not all book-collectors are wont to do: he had read and annotated them every one, made abstracts from them, or analysed them in a series of note-books which filled a whole long shelf of his library. Some fruits of these studies will be found in the essays reprinted in this volume. He gave me from time to time duplicates of the Port Royal books that were his special favourites. When I read them I understood why he loved them, for in them I found, in word and example, the ideals which evidently had shaped and ruled his life. He loved them also because of their devotion to St. Augustine, the one of the Fathers whom Henry Morgan had studied most deeply and trusted most implicitly.

No notice of him would be even roughly complete which did not take account of his courage. There were

certain strong convictions of his which were by no means shared by the clergy with whom he came most in contact. He was an ardent Liberal in politics, and never veiled or failed to act upon his political faith. The French Revolution fascinated him. He had studied the documents and much of the best literature of its history, both French and English. This first-hand knowledge he condensed sometimes into magazine articles, sometimes into lectures, sometimes into letters to the newspapers, and brought himself thereby not seldom into conflict with the more conservative country clergy. I remember once, at Newbury, Mr. Kensit the elder came to lecture upon "the abominations of the Confessional," and had placarded the town with bills likely to inflame religious passion. Henry Morgan made a point of being at the lecture, a lecture full of the most odious misrepresentations and accusations. When the lecturer had spent his fury, to the amazement of everybody Henry Morgan stood up in the middle of the hall and told the people in his quiet, measured way that for years past he had on occasions made his Confession and that he had met with none of those evils which the speaker had charged against the practice, but on the contrary had found it peace-bringing and greatly to the profit of his soul. I never heard how his words were received.

It is no slight testimony to the sterling worth of Henry Morgan's character that a man of such spiritual discernment as Bishop King of Lincoln should have admitted him into the inner circle of his intimates, and never lost an opportunity of showing how much he honoured him. Again and again he chose him to address his Ordination candidates and to preach the

Ordination sermon, and in his will he made him, with Canon Randolph, his literary executor. Alas! my friend was not spared to carry out his part in this sacred trust. Health failed, and rheumatism crippled him more and more until, working up to the last and meeting suffering and the prospect of death with Christian faith and fortitude, he passed on to his eternal rest.

We who remain think of him with veneration and gratitude as a devoted servant of Christ and a most faithful friend.

